BOOKS ON EGYPT AND CHALDAEA

This book originally belonged to the Pendleton Family. From there it went to Augusta's husband - Reginald Brown. And in turn it went from him to his nephew Ralph Brown.

[Mary] Lawson [Young Pendleton]

Stephen D. Cole

Books on Egypt and Chaldaea

Vol. XXXIII. OF THE SERIES.

EGYPTIAN LITERATURE

Volume II.

ANNALS OF NUBIAN KINGS

Books on Egypt and Chaldaea

EGYPTIAN LITERATURE

VOLUME II.

ANNALS OF NUBIAN KINGS

WITH A SKETCH OF THE HISTORY OF THE NUBIAN KINGDOM OF NAPATA

BY

E. A. WALLIS BUDGE, M.A., LITT.D., D.LITT., D.LIT.

KEEPER OF THE EGYPTIAN AND ASSYRIAN ANTIQUITIES
IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM

WITH 14 PLATES AND ILLUSTRATIONS

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PREFACE

THE present volume is the second of the Series of volumes which it has been decided to devote to the publication of complete specimens of Egyptian Literature. It contains Egyptian texts, with English renderings, taken from the Seven Stelae which originally stood in a group in the great temple at Gebel Barkal, some ten miles from the foot of the Fourth Cataract, in the Egyptian Sûdân. The texts describe the Conquest of Egypt by Piānkhi about B.C. 721, the invasion of Egypt by Tanut-Åmen as the result of a dream, between 663–661, the coronation of Åspelta, his Decree against traitors, and the dedication of an endowment to Åmen-Rā by his Queen Māṭisen in the last quarter of the seventh century B.C., the conquests of the Eastern and Southern parts of the Sûdân by Ḥeru-sa-åtef about the middle of the sixth century B.C., and the defeat of Cambyses by Nåstasen, and his campaigns in the Eastern Sûdân about B.C. 520. These royal inscriptions describe the principal events which took place in the kingdom of Napata for a period of about 250 years, i.e., from B.C. 750 to B.C. 500, but they leave many gaps, and they tell us nothing

about the origin of the kingdom, or of the general relations of Nubia to Egypt from the IVth to the XXIIIrd Dynasty. To supplement the information derived from the Seven Stelae, I have added in the Introduction a sketch of the history of the growth of Egypt's great colonial possessions in the Sûdân from the time of the great raid of Seneferu under the IVth Dynasty to that of the Conquest of Egypt by Piānkhi. Brief descriptions of the contents of the Stelae, with comments, are also added, and it is hoped that they may be useful to the general reader.

E. A. WALLIS BUDGE.

BRITISH MUSEUM,
November 21*st*, 1911.

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INTRODUCTION

I.

The Conquest of Egypt by Piānkhi (Pānkhi), King of Napata.

The text of the remarkable document of King Piānkhi, which describes his invasion and conquest of Egypt, is cut in hieroglyphics upon the front, back, and side edges of a massive stele of grey granite, with a rounded top, which is about 5 ft. 11 in. in height, 4 ft. 7½ in. in width, and 1 ft. 5 in. in thickness.[1] Its weight is about two and a quarter tons. This stele was discovered with four others accidentally in 1862, by an Egyptian Officer who was on service in the Egyptian Sûdân during the rule of Sa'îd Pâshâ, the founder of the Bûlâḳ Museum of Egyptian Antiquities. The name of the discoverer has, unfortunately, not been preserved. According to the prefatory notes to Mariette's *Monuments Divers* given by Maspero, this officer, who was probably descending the Nile, found himself obliged to

[1] These are the dimensions of the cast in the British Museum (Southern Egyptian Gallery, No. 793).

spend some days in one of the villages near Gebel Barkal, a fine, bold mountain, about 301 feet high, which lies on the east bank of the river a few miles from Kassingar, at the foot of the Fourth Cataract. Opposite this mountain, on the west bank of the Nile, the famous old Nubian town of Napt, the Napata of classical writers, was situated, and when the Anglo-Egyptian Frontier Field Force was building block houses near Ṣanam Abû Dôm, in 1897, in digging the foundations ruins of temples and other buildings were found at a depth of six feet below the sand. At the foot of the eastern end of the mountain is a large plain on which several Nubian kings, beginning probably with Piānkhi, built stone temples, and on a hill close by are several pyramids, which are most likely royal tombs. All the temples built on this plain have probably been in a state of absolute ruin for centuries. Those which were built close under the mountain appear to have been wholly or partially destroyed by the falling of masses of rock, which split away longitudinally and crashed down on to their roofs. Those which were built on the plain itself were so badly built in the first instance that parts of them, at least, must have been in ruins soon after they were finished.

When I was carrying on work at Gebel Barkal during the winter of 1897–8 the site resembled a large stone-yard half buried in sand. Portions of round columns, paving blocks, broken slabs which once

formed "curtains" between the pillars, cornice blocks, some of which were inscribed, were scattered about in inextricable confusion, for which the modern inhabitants of the district were partly responsible. Up and down the river for some distance the main posts of the structures of water-wheels were rested on stone blocks taken from the temples, many mill-stones were shaped out of portions of fallen columns, and the graves of many Muḥammadans were lined with slabs from the temple-ruins, and the bodies in them were protected from the attacks of wolves and jackals by flat stones from the same place. This wholesale destruction of monuments did not cease with the occupation of the Egyptian Sûdân by the British in 1898, for buildings which I saw at Dulgo and elsewhere in that year had entirely disappeared by 1905. In 1903 and 1904 several large houses were built of stone broken out of the walls of the Temple of Ṣulb, and I was recently informed that the remaining columns of the Temple of Amârah, which I saw standing in 1905, cannot now be found.

Returning to the Egyptian officer who was detained for some reason at Gebel Barkal, Maspero tells us that he went to visit the ruins, and that in some part of the temple (by which must be meant the Temple of Tirhâḳâh), which he does not specify exactly, he saw several stelae, with rounded tops, and cartouches cut upon them. How these escaped the notice of earlier visitors to Gebel Barkal it is difficult to say. Cailliaud

and Hoskins do not mention them, nor does Lepsius, who certainly examined the site with great care. Writing from "Mount Barkal," in May, 1844, the last traveller describes some of the things which he took away from there, namely, the "fat wether" weighing nearly 150 cwts., the altar four feet high, the statue of Isis inscribed with a Meroïtic inscription, the base of a statue of a hawk, etc.[1] Had he seen the stelae he would certainly have carried them off. It is possible that between 1844 and 1862 the natives had removed for building purposes the slabs and blocks which hid the stelae from Cailliaud, Hoskins, and Lepsius, and so made them accessible to the Egyptian officer. It is, however, far more probable that the officer, who, as Maspero tells us, took a lively interest in the ancient history of his country, and had sufficient knowledge to recognize the importance of such documents, even though he could not read them, took the opportunity of carrying out a little excavation on his own account in the temple, and that the five stelae were the result. Mariette, it seems, had in 1861 obtained authority from Sa'îd Pâshâ to make excavations in the Sûdân, but the remoteness of the sites and their inaccessibility had prevented him from carrying out his wishes. News of projected excavations travels rapidly in Egypt, and always excites the keenest interest in the natives, nearly all of whom are convinced that the excavator has obtained from books or

[1] *Letters from Egypt, Ethiopia, and Sinai*, p. 223.

paper information concerning buried treasure which he is going to dig up.

The officer, believing that the cartouches on the stelae indicated that the inscriptions were royal documents, as indeed they were, and that they were therefore of considerable importance, set to work to copy the longest text, and, when he had done so, sent his copy to Mariette in Cairo. It goes without saying that the copy would contain many mistakes, for the actual cutting of many of the hieroglyphics on the stele itself is not beyond reproach! but for all that much of the transcript must have been easily legible, for Mariette at once recognized from it that the discovery made by the officer was one of first-class importance. This is evident from the steps which he took to secure the possession of the stelae for the Government. He promptly caused orders to be sent up to the Governor of Dongola to seize them in the name of the Government, and to despatch them to Cairo as soon as possible. Watchmen were to be appointed by him to keep away from the Gebel Barkal ruins all unauthorized persons, and he was to exercise special vigilance in respect of the dealers in antiquities who, having by some means got wind of the discovery, were flocking to the site intent on doing business with the natives. In obedience to his orders the Governor of Dongola took the stelae from the temple, and had them dragged to the river-bank, where in due course they were loaded into a barge, broad of beam, with high

bows and a rounded bottom, suitable for passing through the Cataracts, and in the summer of 1862 they left the little town of Merawi on their long journey to Cairo.

Meanwhile Mariette was working at the officer's copy of the text of the Stele of Piānkhi and the various drawings which he appears to have sent to him, and in 1863 he was able to announce the discovery to the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres.[1] This done, he sent the copy of the inscription to M. E. de Rougé, with a letter [2] in which, having summarized the historical results which he believed could be drawn from his cursory examination of the text, he asked him to make a complete translation of the inscription. M. J. de Rougé tells us that this work was one of considerable difficulty owing to the "état presque informe" of the copy, which, he says, was made by the inexperienced hand of the "Arab watchman of the excavations" (surveillant arabe des fouilles); but the copy must have been that made by the officer who discovered the stelae. Whatever the state of the copy may have been it was sufficiently good to enable M. E. de Rougé to translate the text, for he published a translation of it [3] a few months after Mariette announced the discovery to the Academy. In that year (1863) M. E. de Rougé passed some time in

[1] *Lettre de M. Aug. Mariette à M. le Vicomte de Rougé sur une stèle trouvée à Gebel-Barkal*, in *Comptes Rendus*, tom. vii., p. 119 ff.

[2] Published in *Revue Arch.*, 1863, Part I., p. 413.

[3] *Inscription historique du Roi Pianchi-Mériamoun*, in the *Revue Arch.*, 1863, Part II., p. 94 ff., with a plate.

Egypt, and went to the old Museum at Bûlâḳ, hoping to find there the Stele of Piānkhi, for he wished to collate the officer's copy with the original text, and to clear up difficulties in his translation.

The precious load of stelae had not, however, arrived from Gebel Barkal; and this was hardly to be wondered at. The men in charge of it found no difficulty in floating down the river to Kermah, but when they arrived there the Nile was falling, and there was not enough water to enable them to pass very far down the Third Cataract, and difficulties of all kinds were encountered. In short, the winter of 1862 was wasted, and the inundation of 1863 had to be waited for. When this came the stelae were carried on their way for a considerable distance; but once more the Nile fell, and another winter was wasted, the stelae meanwhile probably lying high and dry somewhere in the Second Cataract. The journey was resumed with the help of the Nile flood of 1864, and towards the close of that year the stelae arrived in Cairo. The successful issue of the undertaking reflects great credit on those who carried it out, as everyone who has had experience of moving and transporting heavy stelae down the Nile by means of native boats, native ropes, and native labour will testify. Cataracts like those of Tangur, Dâl, Semnah, Gazîrat al-Malik, etc., are difficult enough to pass through at the best of times, and the transport of the Gebel Barkal stelae through them in safety is a fine testimony to the skill of the Nubian boatmen.

As soon as the stelae arrived in Cairo, Mariette caused copies of the texts to be made by Devéria, and from these Mariette made an analysis of the contents of the inscriptions, which he published in an article entitled "Quatre pages des Archives officielles de l'Éthiopie." [1] Two years later Devéria's copies, which were wonderfully good considering the difficult nature of the texts, were published by Mariette in his work on the excavations in the Sûdân.[2] This book passed into the trade in the ordinary way, but a few days after its publication it was, for some reason not explained, suddenly withdrawn from sale and destroyed. Only a few copies were purchased by the public. In 1868 de Rougé began a series of lectures in the Collège de France on the Stele of Piānkhi, and continued them year by year until 1872. In 1869 Lauth published a German translation of the Stele,[3] and in 1873 an English translation by Canon F. C. Cook appeared.[4] In 1876 M. J. de Rougé issued his father's French translation, together with a number of valuable notes which he had made at his father's lectures between 1867 and 1872.[5] It would be difficult to overpraise this translation,

[1] *Revue Arch.*, 1865, tom. xii., p. 161 ff.

[2] *Fouilles exécutées en Égypte, en Nubie et au Soudan*, fol., Paris, 1867. Vol. i., Text; vol. ii., Plates.

[3] *Sitzungsberichte der Kön. Bay. Akad.*, pp. 13–49 (Philos.-philol. Classe).

[4] *The Inscription of Pianchi-Meramon*, London, 1873, 8vo; see also *Records of the Past*, O.S., ii., p. 79.

[5] *Chrestomathie Égyptienne*, 4ième Fasc., *La Stèle du Roi Éthiopien Piankhi-Meriamen*, Paris, 1876.

and it has assuredly formed the foundation of every translation which has since appeared. In 1876–7 German translations by Brugsch were published;[1] in 1878 a further German rendering by Lauth[2] was issued; a German translation was given by Wiedemann in 1884;[3] and an English rendering of Brugsch's German translation appeared in "Egypt under the Pharaohs," vol. ii., p. 230 ff. The drawings of the inscriptions on the stelae made by Devéria in 1865 and published by Mariette in 1867 were reprinted and issued in 1889, with excellent bibliographical notes by Maspero, in "Monuments Divers."[4] The most recent English translations are by Griffith[5] and Breasted.[6] A most carefully edited copy of the hieroglyphic text, based on a new collation of the original, was published by Dr. H. Schäfer.[7]

The Stele of Piānkhi is one of the most important monuments which have come down to us, and the information which it supplies about a little-known period of Egyptian history is of unique value. The text describes a state of things in Egypt which but for

[1] See *Geschichte Ägyptens*, p. 676 ff.; the Göttingen *Nachrichten*, No. 19, p. 457.

[2] In the *Abhandlungen* of the Bavarian Academy, Bd. xii.

[3] *Ägyptische Geschichte*, p. 566.

[4] *Monuments divers recueillis en Égypte et en Nubie par A. Mariette-Pacha. Texte par G. Maspero.* Paris, 1889, folio.

[5] *Egyptian Literature* (in *Specimen Pages of a Library of the World's Best Literature*), p. 5274.

[6] *Ancient Records, Egypt*, vol. iv., p. 406.

[7] *Urkunden der älteren Äthiopen Könige*, I. Leipzig, 1905.

the evidence of this document would be well-nigh incredible. We see that there were several petty kings ruling at the same time in different places, and that each in his own way was endeavouring to make himself absolute master of Egypt. There was no capital, no central government or guiding power in the land, and everywhere comparatively petty tribal chiefs were arrogating to themselves the powers of great monarchs and of chiefs of the great towns like Memphis and Thebes, and were claiming gifts and service from men as by royal right. This confused state of affairs first began to make itself apparent after the downfall of the XXIst Dynasty, which consisted of two sets of kings, the first set ruling over the Delta from Tanis, and the second over Upper Egypt from Thebes. The kings of the XXIInd Dynasty were descended from the Libyan chief Buiuuaua, and their rule over Lower Egypt was well established. How far their authority in Upper Egypt was effective cannot be said, and there is good reason to believe that there were in Upper Egypt at this time many local chiefs who styled themselves kings, but whose authority was of a most shadowy kind. Meanwhile what was happening in Nubia? As soon as the chiefs of the Northern Sûdân learned that Syria had asserted her independence during the rule of the Priest-kings at Thebes, and that by the end of the XXIInd Dynasty Egypt had lost all her foreign possessions, they ceased to pay tribute to Egypt, and waited to see what would happen, i.e., whether any of

the kinglets of the Delta or Thebes would be hardy enough to bring an army to the south and make them do homage and bring their customary gifts. None of them did this, and thus Nubia was left in peace to work out her own destiny.

The Northern Sûdân was always regarded by the Egyptians as a valuable possession, because, as Muḥammad 'Alî Pâshâ said, "it produces gold and slaves." The oldest Egyptian raid in the Sûdân is that which was made by Seneferu, a king of the IVth Dynasty, and is described in the following words on the Palermo Stone[1]:—

"Invasion of the Land of the Blacks, and the
"bringing back of living captives,
"men and women seven thousand, cattle two
"hundred thousand."

The captives who reached Egypt were drafted to forced labour (*corvée*); the women, who were probably young, would be sent into the *ḥarims*; and of the cattle, such as were of good stock would be used for breeding purposes, and the rest would serve for food. There is no mention of gold on the Stone, but this is probably due to an oversight on the part of the draftsman. In

[1] Schäfer, *Ein Bruchstück Altäg. Annalen*, p. 30; Naville, *Recueil*, tom. xxi., p. 112.

the reign of Pepi I. (VIth Dynasty) levies were drawn from Sûdânî tribes to fight against the rebellious tribes in the Eastern Desert, just as about 3500 years later Diocletian employed the Nobadae to fight against the Blemmyes. Under the XIIth Dynasty the Sûdân was systematically conquered and occupied by Egyptian troops, who were stationed at forts on islands in the river, or on the river-banks; and the Egyptians began to develop the gold trade, which subsequently attained very large proportions. To facilitate the passage of large war-boats into Nubia, Usertsen III. cleared out and enlarged an old canal in the First Cataract, and thus was able to transport troops quickly thither from Egypt, the waste of time caused by disembarking at Elephantine and re-embarking at Philae being thus obviated.

Under the kings of the XIIth Dynasty the civilization of Egypt began to enter Nubia. The kings wanted gold and slaves, and in order to obtain both they found it necessary to take the working of the gold-mines in the Eastern Desert into their own hands, and to establish small garrisons as far south as the Fourth Cataract, with outposts probably much farther to the south. The garrisons were commanded by Egyptian officers, whose duty it was to raise levies for service in Egypt, and to superintend the transport of gold from point to point until it reached Egypt. In each place where the garrison was large an Egyptian temple was built, and this became a centre of Egyptian influence

in the country. The governor, or commandant, and his staff, and the priests and temple servants, and the scribes and skilled workmen and their overseers, were all Egyptians, and their influence in introducing among the natives knowledge of the worship of their gods and the manners and customs of the Egyptians was very considerable. The natives, too, would quickly perceive the superiority of the methods of Egyptian workmen and the importance of the scribe, and hold in fear, if not in respect, the far reaching power of the remote Pharaoh.

Before the close of the XIIth Dynasty the country between Philae and the foot of the Second Cataract had passed into the absolute possession of Egypt. There was a strong fort at Amâdah, which was built to protect the caravans coming from the Wâdî ʿUlâḳî in the Eastern Desert, and at Behen, the modern Wâdî Ḥalfah, there was a large town, with temples, fortifications, etc. Forty miles farther south was the fort of Semnah, which was built by Usertsen III. to mark the limit of Egyptian territory in the south. Here he set up a copy of a decree in which the Blacks were forbidden to pass the frontier, either by land or by water; exceptions were, however, to be made in favour of merchants and envoys on special Government business.[1] This decree was promulgated in the eighth year of his reign. In his sixteenth year he set up two large inscribed stelae, one at Semnah and the other on the

[1] For a copy of this decree see pp. 170, 171.

island a few miles to the south of Sarras called Gazîrat al-Malik, in which he describes his treatment of the Blacks, and their character as he understood it. He calls them cowards, men who run away when attacked, poltroons, unmanly and timid—for they run away at the sound of war—and fools. He then refers to his slaughter of their men and women, the ravishing of their women, the burning of their crops, and the fouling of their wells; and if what he says be true, he ought not to have been surprised when the natives, to whom his character had been reported, ran away at his approach.[1] It is difficult to see what purpose this inscription could have served, for the people who were abused in it could not read it, and it is very doubtful if the average Egyptian whose duties called him to Nubia would take the trouble to read it.

It is impossible to say how much of the country south of the fortress of Semnah was occupied by the Egyptians, but Professor Maspero thinks that Usertsen III. raided the country round about the southern part of the Atbara; and if this be so, it is probable that this king was master of the Island of Meroë. It is well known that gold has been brought from this region from time immemorial, as also have slaves, and we may be sure that Usertsen III. would take care to secure a large portion of the gold which the natives dug out of the mountains and washed out of the mud of the rivers. This would be brought by caravans from Sennaar to

[1] For the text and translation of this inscription see p. 172 ff.

Meroë, and from Meroë across the desert to Napata, and thence probably by boat to Egypt. Usertsen's forts or outposts no doubt extended to Napata at the foot of the Fourth Cataract, at which point the gold, slaves, and Sûdânî produce, which formed the tribute paid to him by the tribes, would be taken over by Egyptian officers and overseers. The trade between Egypt and the Sûdân must have been very considerable under the XIIth Dynasty, and many products of Egyptian manufacture must have found their way into the remotest parts of the Egyptian Sûdân. For a few centuries, during which the kings of the XIIIth, XIVth, XVth, XVIth, and XVIIth Dynasties ruled over Egypt, our knowledge of events in the Sûdân is scanty, but we may assume that, owing to the decline of the power of Egypt, native rulers gradually asserted their independence, and that no tribute was paid by them to Egypt.

Under the XVIIIth Dynasty the Egyptians re-occupied Nubia, and the whole country so far south as the Blue Nile became to all intents and purposes a part of Egypt. Amasis I., having driven out the Hyksos and occupied the Delta, turned his attention to the Ânti, or "Troglodytes," i.e., the tribes of the Eastern Desert, who probably pillaged the caravans travelling to and from Egypt. He marched into Nubia and killed a great many people, and, having re-imposed tribute on the chief tribes, returned "in peace" to Egypt. After his departure the Nubians, led by a

rebel of ability, marched towards Egypt and destroyed much temple property, i.e., they probably laid waste the old Egyptian temples which still stood between Semnah and Philae. The Egyptians returned to Nubia and dealt severely with the rebels and their leader, and slew another rebel chief called Tetâân and all his companions. Âmen-ḥetep I. raided the Sûdân and captured numbers of slaves and cattle, and the mention of the latter suggests that he penetrated into the lands of the Mentiu, or Cattle-men,[1] to the south of the modern town of Khartûm. Be this as it may, his name is certainly found on a tablet which is said to have been discovered at Meroë. About this time the Egyptians once more realized that the gold and slaves of the Sûdân rendered it a very valuable possession; and seeing how large the trade was, and feeling that it was unwise to entrust the direction of it to local governors, Âmen-ḥetep determined to appoint a viceroy over the "Lands of the South." His choice fell upon his son Thothmes I., whose official title as such was "Royal Prince of Kash," i.e., Cush, a name which is commonly, but wrongly, translated by "Ethiopia." At first the "Prince of Kash" lived and ruled in Nubia, but sometimes he lived in Egypt and ruled by deputy. Under the XVIIIth Dynasty the country between the Blue Nile and Philae was divided into provinces or districts, each of which was governed by a local chief, who was responsible to the Prince of Kash and made

[1] Compare the Baḳḳârah of modern times.

the chief town of his district his home. In fact, the Egyptians divided their great possession in the south into nomes, which, allowing for geographical differences and peculiarities, were administered much on the same lines as those of Egypt.

When Thothmes I. became king he set out with a large force for Nubia to force the natives to pay tribute. The Egyptian fleet met the war-boats of the rebels on the river, and a fierce fight took place in which the Egyptians naturally were victorious. The boats of the enemy capsized and drifted on to the mud banks, and their crews were killed or drowned. The dead body of the leader of the Nubians was tied to the bows of the king's boat for all to see, and the king returned with it to Thebes. The inscription cut on a rock on the island at the head of the Third Cataract tells us that Thothmes I. traversed the deserts and mountains of Nubia where his predecessors had "not only never been but which they had never seen," but this statement is probably an exaggeration. When Thothmes I. died, the Egyptian officials went to Nubia to put down a revolt which had broken out, and to collect tribute for the new king Thothmes II. They carried fire and sword wherever they went, and finally they captured the son of the "Chief of Kash," and took him to Egypt with large numbers of cattle. During this reign the fort at Kummah was either repaired or rebuilt, for the cartouches of Thothmes II. exist there to this day.

Whether or not Thothmes III. made an expedition

into Nubia it is impossible to say, but it is quite certain that more forts and temples were built there in his reign than under any other king; and if the list of places conquered in Nubia which appears on the wall of a pylon at Thebes represents historical facts, it is clear that Egyptian rule in that country was never so effective as at that period. The number of the places in Kash, Uauat, and Punt named are about two hundred and forty-two. Ten years after Thothmes became sole king, Punt and Uauat sent large tribute. Two years later Punt sent 1685 measures of incense, much gold, male and female slaves, oxen, bulls, calves, goats, etc. Apparently the Nubian tribes thought it wiser to send their tribute to Thebes voluntarily than to provoke the wrath of Thothmes III. and the slaughter of their people by his warriors when they came to demand it. The comparatively friendly relations which existed between the Egyptians and Nubians at this time is well illustrated by the bas-reliefs on the walls of the little temple which Thothmes III. built at Semnah. Here we have representations of Ṭeṭun, , a very ancient Nubian god, embracing Thothmes III., and of the king kneeling at the feet of the god, whose hands are extended over his crown. The priest says to Ṭeṭun, "Thy dear son Men-"kheper-Rā hath seated himself upon thy seat, he hath "inherited thy throne, he hath made himself the "supreme king in this land, and his rule shall never

"change. Grant thou thy support to his souls, and "let the awe of him be in the hearts of the Ȧnti (Hill-"men) and the Menti (Cattle-rearing tribes), as a "gracious reward to him for building this beautiful, "solid, and substantial temple to thy honour." When once the great god of Nubia had recognized the validity of the rule of the king of Egypt in this manner, there was nothing left for the people to do but to follow his example.

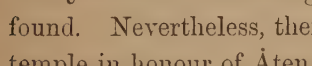
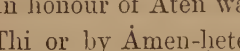
In the reign of Ȧmen-ḥetep II., the successor of Thothmes III., the Egyptians appear to have had no serious difficulty with the Nubians, and the authority of Egypt was exercised without question. The king's rule extended to the Blue Nile, and he seems to have built a temple on the site now called Wâd Bâ Nagaa, where two statues of him were found. The recognized capital of the country was Napata by Gebel Barkal, for thither Ȧmen-ḥetep sent the body of one of the seven kings of Thakisa, in Northern Syria, whom he had slain. Six of the bodies were displayed on the walls of Thebes, and the seventh was hung on the city wall of Napata, partly as a proof of royal prowess, and partly as an intimation to the Blacks of the fate which would overtake them if they rebelled against the king. During the reign of Thothmes IV., the successor of Ȧmen-ḥetep II., there was peace in Nubia, but five years after his death a certain Nubian tribe rebelled, and Ȧmen-ḥetep III., the new king, sent an Egyptian force to restore his authority in the land. The account

of the engagement proves that the revolt was merely local, and that only 312 men had their hands cut off; 740 slaves were captured, and much booty.

Ámen-ḥetep consolidated the rule of Egypt in Nubia by proclaiming himself to be the god of the country, and he was worshipped as such in the large[1] temple which he built at Ṣulb, about 150 miles south of Wâdî Ḥalfah. His favourite wife Thi was also worshipped as his female counterpart in the temple of Sadênga, which he built in her honour a few miles to the north of Ṣulb. Other buildings were no doubt erected by him in the Dongola district, but few remains which can be attributed with certainty to his reign exist. The fact that Ámen-ḥetep III. built the great temple at Ṣulb proves that the country was in a peaceful and prosperous state, that trade was flourishing, and that the Egyptian rule was accepted by the bulk of the people. Nubia had at that time been in the continuous possession of Egypt for about 150 years, and many of the natives who came in contact with her civilization must have begun to adopt, so far as their means permitted, the manners and customs of their conquerors, and, perhaps incidentally, their religion and language.

Ámen-ḥetep IV., the son of Ámen-ḥetep III. and Queen Thi, does not appear to have made any expedition into Nubia; in fact, he was so much occupied in promulgating his own religious opinions about Áten, and in quarrelling with the priests of Ámen, and in

[1] It was nearly 600 feet long, and contained about 150 pillars.

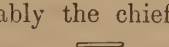
playing the priest in his new town, that he had no time left to attend to the maintenance of Egyptian sovereignty in Syria and the Sûdân. The ruined state of the temple of Saddênga, which his father dedicated to his beloved queen Thi, makes it impossible to say whether Ȧmen-ḥetep IV. carried on any building operations in it or not, but we find his name at Ṣulb, and he seems to have added two bas-reliefs to the temple there. On these we see figures[1] of the king making offerings to the "Image," , of Ȧmen-ḥetep III., and one wonders how Ȧmen-ḥetep IV., if he was responsible for these bas-reliefs, could reconcile the cult of Ȧten with that of his father. Up to the present no remains of any building or temple dedicated to the god Ȧten have been discovered in Nubia, and, though we might well expect to find a small sanctuary of this god in or near the temple built for Queen Thi at Sadênga, no trace of one has been found. Nevertheless, there is reason to believe that a temple in honour of Ȧten was built in Nubia, either by Queen Thi or by Ȧmen-ḥetep IV., for the name Ȧten forms a portion of the name of a town which is mentioned two or three times in Nubian annals. This town is called Pa-ḳem-Ȧten, or Per-ḳem-Ȧten,  , which is abbreviated to Pa-ḳemt, or Per-ḳemt,  .[2] It is possible that

[1] Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, iii., 110 *k*.

[2] See Stele of Nâstasen, l. 22, etc.; Stele of Ḥeru-sa-ȧtef.

Pa-ḳemt was the original name of the city, and that "Åten" was added to it after a sanctuary of the god Åten had been built there, but we have no information on this point. What the name Ḳem-Åten means cannot be said, but as the full name of the town is "House of Ḳem-Åten," the name Ḳem-Åten is probably that of a form of the Sun-god Åten which Åmen-ḥetep IV. worshipped at Thebes or in his town Khut-Åten. The cult of Åten in the town of Pa-ḳem-Åten probably did not long survive the worship of this god in Egypt, but whether it did or not, it is quite certain that some time before the reign of the first king of the XXVIth Dynasty the worship of Åmen-Rā was performed in it, and one inscription at Gebel Barkal actually mentions an "Åmen-Rā of Ḳem-Åten."[1] In the list of the festivals which Ḥeru-saåtef[2] celebrated in honour of the gods of the principal cities of Nubia he mentions the festival of Osiris and Isis in Pa-Ḳemt, but there is no mention made of a festival of Åten. Thus we see that in this town the worship of Åten was replaced by that of Åmen-Rā, the god most cordially hated by Åmen-ḥetep IV., and that at a still later period the chief gods of the town were Osiris and Isis, and that, apparently, Åmen-Rā had been forgotten. Where the town of Pa-ḳem-Åten was situated is unknown, but it lay probably between the foot of the Third Cataract and the head of the Second, not far from Suwarda.

[1] *Nâstasen*, l. 20. [2] Line 160.

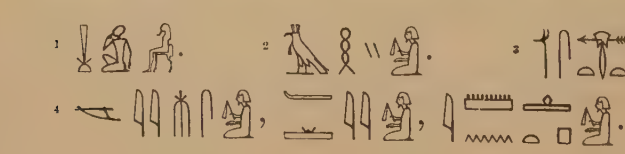
The next king of Egypt and the Sûdân was Tut-ānkh-Åmen, a son of Åmen-ḥetep III., and an inscription on a lion in the British Museum tells us that he "made" monuments to his father Åmen-Rā, Lord of the Thrones of the Two Lands, Tem, Lord of Heliopolis, and Åāḥ, the Moon-god. The Åmen-Rā here referred to was probably the chief god of Gebel Barkal, or Napata, for  , "Thrones of the Two Lands," appears to have been a name of Napata. The restoration, or building, of temples at Napata suggests that the Nubians continued to pay tribute to Egypt, and that they did not fully realize that her hold on Syria had at this time greatly relaxed. In the reigns of Åi and Ḥeru-em-ḥeb the Nubians paid tribute to Egypt, and the latter king appears to have visited Nubia. In a bas-relief at Gebel Silsilah he is seen seated on a throne borne on poles which rest on the necks of twelve Nubians, and the texts accompanying the scene describe in inflated language the terror which he inspired in Kash (Cush). Elsewhere we read[1] that the people of Punt sent offerings to him, but whether these were complimentary gifts or veritable tribute cannot be said.

The success of Egyptian rule in Nubia depended largely upon the tact and ability of the viceroys who bore the title of "Prince of Kash." When rebellion broke out, an Egyptian force arrived, and, after a fight

[1] Mariette, *Monuments Divers*, pl. 188.

more or less bloody, the Nubians were beaten, their possessions were seized by the Pharaoh, their homes were destroyed, and then the Egyptians returned to their country "in peace." When they had departed it was the viceroy who had the trouble of getting the natives to come back to their lands and start their work again, and pay the taxes which he was obliged to levy on them, and of keeping within bounds the native hatred of foreign rule. One of the earliest "governors of the lands of the South" was Prince Sen,[1] a son of Thothmes II. In the reign of Thothmes III. the office was filled by the famous Prince Neḥi,[2] and in the reign of Åmen-ḥetep II. by User-Set,[3] his son. In the reign of Åmen-ḥetep III. there were three Princes of Kash, namely, Meri-mes, Ḥui, and Åmen-ḥetep,[4] and the last two of these appear to have still held office in the reign of Åmen-ḥetep IV. Thus for a period of about two hundred years the hold of Egypt upon Nubia was well established, and her influence there was paramount.

Coming now to the XIXth Dynasty, we find that Rameses I. contented himself with the assertion of Egyptian authority in the country between Philae and Wâdî Ḥalfah, and there is no evidence that he raided any part of the region to the south of the latter place. His son Seti I. claims in his inscriptions the overlord-



ship of the Nubians and of the peoples in the Eastern and Western Deserts. As a matter of fact, he devoted his energies to the development of the gold mines in the Eastern Desert, and to the strengthening of the forts which commanded the roads to them. The gold mines on the old route between Radasîyah, on the Nile, and the Red Sea were practically unworkable, because of the scarcity of water on the road. They were situated about forty miles from Berenice on the Red Sea, and those who travelled thither from the Nile had to take water with them, a distance of 170 miles. Seti I. determined to work these mines, and perhaps also the emerald mines of Gebel Zâbarah, which lay near them, and to carry out this plan he dug a series of wells between the Nile and the gold mines. The first well was dug about thirty-six miles from the Nile, and an abundant supply of water was obtained. Close by it he built a temple in honour of Åmen-Rā, Ptaḥ, Osiris, Isis, and Horus, and about this there grew up a small town, which was inhabited by those who were occupied in the gold transport and by the merchants and others who supplied their wants. Where the other wells were situated is not known, but the inscriptions on the temple of Radasîyah leave no doubt that Seti I. opened up the old road to the gold mines, and that he either cleared out and deepened the old mines, or dug new ones, and organized an effective caravan service between the Nile and the Red Sea.

His son and successor, Rameses II., boasts in the

inscription on the Stele of Kubbân[1] that he attacked the Blacks like a "mighty bull," and "trampled them down like a bull goaded to fury," that he "gored the Ânti (Hill-men of the Eastern Desert) mercilessly with his horns," that he conquered Khent-ḥen-nefer, and that his power extended to Kari,[2] which has been identified with Napata. All these statements we must receive with caution, for there is no evidence that Rameses II. ever fought a battle of any importance in Nubia. As a matter of fact, the Egyptians do not appear to have been able to compel Punt and other remote regions of the Sûdân to pay tribute, and the activity which Seti I. displayed in re-opening the gold mines on the road to the Red Sea suggests that there was a shortage of gold in his reign. This shortage seems to have continued in the reign of Rameses II. also, for he tells us in the Ḳubbân text that he meditated on the possibility of working certain gold mines in the country of Akita whilst he was in the temple of Ptaḥ, whither he had gone to offer praise and prayer to the god. The mines in this country yielded much gold, but the difficulty was how to transport it to the Nile. Even if small caravans set out from the Nile only one half of the men reached the mines, for the other half died of thirst on the way, and their asses with them. The water in the skin bottles soon gave out, and no caravan could carry

[1] See Prisse d'Avennes, *Monuments*, plate xxi.

[2] .

enough water to enable it to go to the mines and return to the Nile. The king debated the matter with his nobles, and finally with the Prince of Kash,[1] who had reported that the road to the mines of Akita had always been waterless, that the people who travelled by it died of thirst, and that many kings had dug wells there, but that they were all useless, for no water was found in them. King Seti I. even had sunk a well there 120 cubits (about 200 feet) deep, but he abandoned it, for he found no water.

Rameses, in spite of these statements, determined to have a well dug on the Akita road, and by his command orders were despatched to the Prince of Kash to carry out the work. This official promptly collected native workmen and began to dig, and in due course he was fortunate enough to be able to report that water had been found at a depth of 12 cubits (about 20 feet), and that water four cubits deep was standing in it. The mines of Akita were reached by a road which started from the Nile at Dakkah, the classical Pselcis, and went nearly due east to the region which is called to-day Wâdî 'Ulâḳî. It seems that they were worked so far back as the XIIth Dynasty, and that work was continued in them under the kings of the XVIIth Dynasty. They were also worked in the Ptolemaïc Period, and even in the time of the Arabs gold was dug out of them by convicts down to the

[1] Among the Princes of Kash in this reign were Åmen-em-āpt, son of Pa-ser, Setau, Mesui, and Pa-ser.

twelfth century of our era. Modern travellers who have visited the Wâdî 'Ulâḳî have found there stone implements and smelting bowls, and it is clear that the gold deposit in this region was very rich.

Under the later kings of the XIXth Dynasty Nubia was not troubled by any Egyptian expedition on a large scale, and caravans appear to have been able to bring the produce of the country to Egypt in the ordinary way of business without let or hindrance. Trade was brisk everywhere, and business was flourishing, and the Sûdânî tribes in all parts of their country undoubtedly benefited by the period of great national prosperity in Egypt which coincided with the reign of Rameses II. They adopted Egyptian customs more and more, Napata became a second Thebes, and many of the gods of Egypt were established in their temples and were worshipped side by side with native Nubian gods. It seems as if Rameses II. anticipated the policy of the Ptolemies, and effected the complete subjugation of Nubia, not by soldiers but by traders.

The first and greatest king of the XXth Dynasty, Rameses III., continued the policy of Rameses II., and when once seated on the throne, he devoted more time to the development of the trade of Egypt than to war. He did not in any way neglect the Sûdân from a commercial point of view, but he found means of obtaining its products with greater profit to himself and less risk than his predecessors. Instead of organizing caravans to bring gold, myrrh, balsam, precious stones,

etc., from Punt and the countries on the Blue Nile, he sent a portion of his fleet at stated intervals to Punt and Ta-neter, and his ships returned loaded with all the products of that wonderful region. Where his ports on the African coast were is not known, but he made a place on the Red Sea near the modern town of Ḳuṣêr his seaport, and there were unloaded the ships which sailed to Punt and back, as well as those which brought copper from the mines at Wâdî Maghârah and Ṣarâbît al-Khâdim in the Sinaitic Peninsula. From the seaport the goods were conveyed by animals through the Wâdî Ḥammâmât to Coptos, near the modern Ḳenâ, on the Nile, and from this point they were floated down the river to Memphis and the large towns, and sent by caravan to countries in the south.

The diverting of a large portion of the trade of the Sûdân with Egypt from the ordinary desert routes to the sea was fraught with very far-reaching effects. It checked the intercourse between the two countries, and made it unnecessary for the Egyptians to maintain forts and garrisons in Nubia to protect Egyptian commerce. Rameses III. profited greatly by this economy, and by the saving which he effected in transport, for the risks of robbery at sea by desert tribes was nil, and goods were carried quicker and cheaper, and arrived in better condition, and the expense of replacing dead and worn-out slaves and pack animals was avoided; but he destroyed Egyptian influence in the Sûdân. Trade, Rameses thought, was more profitable than fighting,

and war was not popular with him, as we may see from his own statement. "In my time I made the "horsemen and the bowmen of the Shairetana and "the Qehaq to dwell in their towns, and to lie upon "their backs, for there was no fighting with Kash or "Syria. Their bows and their weapons of war were "laid up inside their guard-houses, and they were filled "with meat and drink, of which they partook with "rejoicings, and their wives and their children were "with them, and they looked not behind them, for "their hearts were glad."[1] The wealth of Egypt under Rameses II. and Rameses III. must have been very great, and the amount of gold which entered the country is almost incredible. Diodorus, in describing the Tomb of "Osymandyas," a king who may be identified with Rameses II. or Rameses III.,[2] speaks of a bas-relief, in which the king is seen offering to the gods the gold and silver which he drew annually from the mines of Egypt. Diodorus, or Hekataeus, calculated what the amount mentioned in the inscription on the bas-relief represented in the money of his time, and he says that it was worth 32,000,000 of minas. At the lowest calculation the mina was worth £2 10*s*., therefore the annual revenue of gold and silver in Egypt in the time of Osymandyas was about £80,000,000

[1] Harris Papyrus No. I. (Brit. Mus., No. 9,900), pl. 78, ll. 10–12.

[2] Osymandyas = *User-maāt-Rā*, , the first portion of the prenomen of each of these kings.

sterling. The bulk of the gold came from Western Abyssinia, the region of the Blue Nile, and the Eastern Desert farther to the north.

Under the rule of the later kings of the XXth Dynasty (Rameses IV.–XII.) the influence of Egypt in Nubia still further declined, and the power of the native chiefs who governed the country from Napata increased. Before the close of the XXth Dynasty the high priest of Ȧmen-Rā at Thebes found that his revenues were insufficient to maintain the worship of the god in a fitting state, for the treasury of his temple was well-nigh empty. Since the kings had ceased to wage war in Syria and the Sûdân, there was no spoil from which to offer a share to Ȧmen, and as the tribes in these countries had ceased to pay tribute, poverty stared the priesthood in the face. Rameses IX. conceded to Ȧmen-ḥetep, the high priest, power to levy taxes on the people to support the god, and when Rameses XII. died, the high priest of the time, Ḥer-Ḥeru, usurped the throne and proclaimed himself king of all Egypt. His pretensions were not recognized in the Delta, for the people realized that the priesthood of Ȧmen could not enforce submission even in Upper Egypt, and that they would be quite powerless to defend the Delta against the invasions of the warlike nomad tribes of Syria and the Eastern Desert. In Thebes itself riots broke out, bands of robbers boldly robbed the royal tombs and broke up the mummies of the kings and queens in them, building operations

ceased, the quarries were closed, and anarchy menaced the whole of Upper Egypt.

Before long the northern half of the kingdom selected as their king a man called Nesbaṭeṭ, which name the Greeks changed to Smendes, and thus it fell out that there were two kings reigning in Egypt at the same time. The priest-king Ḥer-Ḥeru appears to have been an unpractical man, for when a portion of the temple of Åmen at Luxor was in danger of falling down because its foundations had become undermined by the Nile waters, it was Smendes, the King of the North, who took steps to repair it. He sent 3000 of his own men to Thebes to carry out the work of restoration, and he compelled large numbers of the ordinary inhabitants to assist in the work. Thus it seems that the priests of Åmen could not even protect the temple of their god, and that their authority was not strong enough to stop the robberies of the royal tombs.

Meanwhile the general condition of things in Upper Egypt went from bad to worse, until about the year 960 B.C., when Shashanq I., the first king of the XXIInd Dynasty, became king of all Egypt. Shashanq, the Shishak of the Bible, was descended from the Libyan chief Buiuuaua, and because some of his ancestors had married Egyptian women of high rank he was regarded as a legitimate successor of the great Pharaohs. Shashanq's eldest son succeeded him on the throne, and his second son, Åupeth, became viceroy of

Upper Egypt, and made Thebes his headquarters. We have no details of his rule, but he seems to have set to work to restore order in Thebes, and to put down the wholesale robbery of the dead in the tombs of Western Thebes. Finding, apparently, that he could not prevent the robberies entirely, he decided to withdraw the royal mummies and coffins and their funerary furniture and bury them elsewhere. The place chosen was the tomb of Princess Ȧst-em-khebit at Dêr al-Baḥarî. The shaft of this tomb is 130 feet deep, and from the bottom of it there runs, at right angles, a corridor 200 feet long, which ends in a mummy chamber. To this corridor all the mummies were taken, and they were piled up there with their coffins, jars, boxes, papyri, etc., the whole length of it. The end of the corridor was walled up, and then the pit was filled with stones and sand so carefully that it defied detection for some twenty-seven centuries.

By this act of Ȧupeth there were two classes of people who found their occupations taken from them, viz., the robbers and the priests of Ȧmen. In many of the large royal tombs the priests performed daily services for the dead, both morning and evening, but when the mummies were removed such services became unnecessary, and a considerable number of funerary priests, on the west bank of the Nile at least, found themselves unemployed. On the east bank of the Nile also the priests found it difficult to maintain the state to which they had become accustomed, for

the mismanagement of the affairs of the country by the College of Ȧmen-Rā brought discredit on the god, and men's offerings were fewer than before. In fact, the priesthood of Ȧmen-Rā could not exist without the support of a strong king who was able to provide endowments either from his private purse or from spoil captured from his enemies. Moreover, the people were tired of Ȧmen-Rā, and in their weariness of the god and of the ways of his priests their minds turned to Osiris, one of the oldest indigenous gods of Upper Egypt, and the restoration of his shrine at Abydos about this time induced them to direct their worship to him. How far Ȧupeth himself supported the change of worship cannot be said, but the characteristics of Osiris and Isis appealed to the Libyans, and the viceroy was of Libyan descent.

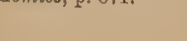
Very soon the priests of Ȧmen realized that the days of their glory had passed, and that it was impossible for them to live in Thebes as before, and they appear to have determined to seek an asylum elsewhere. The north was closed to them, but the south was open, and in Nubia there were many places where Ȧmen-Rā was worshipped as the Sun-god. There were Egyptian settlements all the way up the river from Ḳartassi to Gebel Barkal, and was not the great town of Napata at the foot of the Fourth Cataract a second Thebes, and was not its chief god Ȧmen? Napata was situated in the district which is now called the Province of Dongola and has always been renowned

for its fertility, and it was one of the most important halting-places of caravans from the Blue Nile on their way to Egypt. Hence Napata was a thriving town, and the priests of Åmen therefore selected it as their home. Their migration from Thebes went on steadily, and when they had hidden the mummies of the priests and priestesses of their order in a tomb, much as Åupeth had hidden the royal mummies, the remainder, as opportunity permitted, departed to the south, hoping to find there the support and protection which they needed.

We have no definite information about the part which they took in the government of Nubia, but, judging from the facts brought to light by the Stele of Piānkhi, they strengthened the influence of Egyptian civilization in the country, and consolidated the worship of Åmen, and induced the native kings to emulate the example of the Pharaohs, and to foster Egyptian learning, and to use hieroglyphics in writing public documents. Undoubtedly this is why we find Piānkhi to have been a devout worshipper of Åmen and the other great gods of Egypt, and why the account of his conquest of Egypt is cut in hieroglyphics like the narratives of the wars of Usertsen III., Åmen-ḥetep III., Thothmes III., etc. All Piānkhi's sympathies went with Egypt, indeed he was probably of Egyptian extraction, and, though he slew there without mercy all those who resisted his progress, he respected the temples of the gods, and did not leave behind him

when he left the country a land filled with slain and the ruins of towns which he had burned, and fields blackened with the ashes of the crops which he had set on fire.

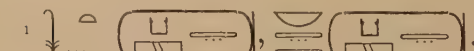
As soon as the priests of Ȧmen were settled in Nubia, they were able to watch the development of affairs in Egypt. The kings of the XXIInd Dynasty ruled Egypt for nearly 200 years, and when the last of them died it became evident that another era of strife and anarchy had begun, and that the rival chiefs of Bubastis and Tanis would fight to the death for the sovereignty of Egypt. And this is what actually took place. The Delta was rent with the wars of the contending parties, who had no time to take note how the course of events was shaping itself in Upper Egypt. Not so the priests of Ȧmen at Napata, for they saw clearly that in a very few years the king reigning at Napata would be able to intervene in a manner which would stupefy the rival chiefs in the Delta, and under the favour and protection of Ȧmen to seize the crown of Egypt before their eyes. Though the priests of Ȧmen had been obliged to leave Thebes, they still regarded the southern part of Egypt as their legitimate possession, for had not their high priests at one time been kings thereof? Did not Ḥer-Ḥeru, the first priest-king, call himself "High priest of Ȧmen-Rā, the King of the gods, Prince of Kesh,[1] director of the granaries"?

[1]  . Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III. 248; Maspero, *Momies*, p. 671.

It is tolerably certain that their kinsfolk and friends in Thebes would keep them well acquainted with all that went on there, and we may be sure that they never ceased to hope that the time would come when they might return thither and revive the old glories of Åmen and his priesthood. As their forefathers in Thebes had ruled the great kings who reigned there from B.C. 1600 to about B.C. 1050, and had moulded the politics of the country to suit the interest of their god and themselves, so the descendants of the fugitive priests of Åmen in Gebel Barkal directed the actions of the kings there and laid down the course of the politics of the country. The voice of Åmen was, according to the dogma of his priests, the voice of God, and it was they who received that voice, and interpreted its instructions to the king, whose right to rule, according to their view, was based on his nomination by them to the kingship and on his recognition by their god. To carry out their plans it was necessary to find a bold, fearless, and successful warrior, who would devote to Åmen a large share of any spoil which he might capture. The temple of Åmen at Thebes was built and maintained by spoil captured in the wars of the kings of the XVIIIth Dynasty, and by profits which accrued from the successful commercial enterprises of a few of the kings of the XIXth and XXth Dynasties, i.e., Seti I., Rameses II., and Rameses III. Similarly, the temple of Åmen at Gebel Barkal could only be made as great and glorious as the priests wished

to see it by endowments obtained by kings of Napata from Egypt.

The first native king of Nubia who is known to have claimed the sovereignty over any part of Egypt is Kashta, whose name is written within a cartouche, and who styled himself "Suten," i.e., "King of the South," and "Lord of Two Lands." [1] This name appears to be Nubian. He had a wife called Pbathma,[2] two sons called Piānkhi and Shabaka, and two daughters, Ȧmenārṭās [3] and Peksather.[4] At one time Kashta was thought to have been the son of Piānkhi, but now there seems to be no doubt that he was Piānkhi's father. Of this Kashta nothing is known, but he appears to have possessed authority in Upper Egypt, and to have ruled in some capacity at Thebes. His son Piānkhi was the famous conqueror of Egypt, and his other son Shabaka (Sabaco) was the first king of the XXVth Dynasty. Kashta probably flourished in the first half of the eighth century B.C. Piānkhi began to reign at Napata perhaps between 750 and 740 B.C., but to form an exact chronology for the kings of Egypt and Nubia at this period is at present impossible.

[1]  . Daressy, *Recueil*, xxii. 142.

[2] . He seems to have had another wife called , Shep-en-Ȧpt.

[3] Brit. Mus., No. 29,212.

[4] Daressy, *Recueil*, xxii., 142.

We may now describe briefly the Stele of Piānkhi and summarize its contents. On the upper, or rounded, portion of the obverse is sculptured the following scene: In the centre is the Disk of the Sun, with an uraeus on each side of it, . On one side is a seated figure of Åmen-Rā, "Lord of the Throne of the Two Lands, Governor of the Åpts, dweller in Ṭu-āb,"[1] i.e., the Holy Mountain (Gebel Barkal). He has on his head the solar disk surmounted by two feathers, and he holds the symbol of life in his right hand and a sceptre in his left. He has the characteristic long pointed Sûdânî beard, and the end of the tail which he wears attached to the belt of his tunic is seen projecting from between his knees. The speech which the god makes is mutilated, and only enough of it remains to show that he promised to give to Piānkhi something similar to that which he had given to his father. Behind him stands the goddess Mut,[2] wearing the Crowns of the South and North, , with her left hand raised. In front of Åmen, but with his back towards the god, is a figure of Piānkhi, and its condition shows that an attempt has been made to obliterate it with a chisel. On his head is an uraeus, symbol of sovereignty, and the legend cut above him reads, "King of the South and North, son

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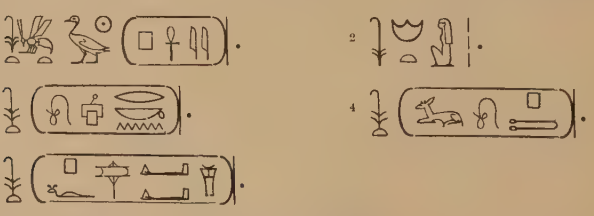
of Rā, Piānkhi."[1] He wears a tunic reaching to his knees, and carries a staff in his left hand. Before him a woman stands with her right hand raised, and behind her is Nemareth, a rebel prince, holding a sistrum in his right hand, and with his left leading a horse, which is intended to be a gift to Piānkhi. The woman represents Nemareth's wives,[2] and she and Nemareth are begging for mercy. The mutilated line of hieroglyphics cut between the figures of Piānkhi and herself contain the opening words of Nemareth's petition, which is given more fully in lines 55 and 56 in the text below. The king is addressed as "Horus, Lord of the Palace," and is entreated to be at peace with them. In the lower register are seen three princes, each with an uraeus above his forehead, kneeling and kissing the ground before Piānkhi. These are Usarken,[3] Åupeth,[4] and Pef-nef-ṭāṭā(?)-Bast.[5] Behind the goddess Mut are figures of five rebel chiefs, who are kissing the ground in homage to the king:—In the upper register are two great chiefs of the Mā[shuasha] called Mer-ka-ne-sha (or, Akanesha)[6] and Tcheṭ-Åmen-åf-



Scene from the Stele of Piankhi-meri-Amen.

Piankhi in the presence of Amen-Rā and Mut receiving the submission of nine Egyptian and Libyan princes.

ānkh[1]; each has a feather on his head. In the lower register are: Tetȧ,[2] a youth, wearing the curl symbolic of youth, and the Ḥā Prince Pathenef,[3] and the Ḥā Prince Pa-ma,[4] each of the two last-named having a feather on his head.

Piānkhi's great inscription is dated in the first month of the season Akhet, i.e., some time between July 19 and August 20, in the twenty-first year of his reign, and we may assume that the Stele was engraved and set up in his temple at Gebel Barkal immediately after his return from the campaign which it records. After calling upon his people to pay heed to the narrative of his exploits which he is going to relate, and to the fact that his conquests surpass those of his ancestors, he goes on to declare that he is of divine origin, and the living human counterpart of Tem, the god of Heliopolis and creator of the world, and that his father and mother knew that, when still unborn, he was to be the Governor of Egypt, the beloved of her gods, and the "son of Rā." It is interesting to note that Piānkhi claims as his divine ancestor one of the oldest cosmic gods of Egypt.

Whilst Piānkhi is living in Napata a report is

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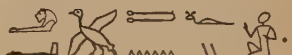
3 

4

Gebel Barkal (or, Birkel).

From a drawing by Hoskins.

brought to him that Tafnekhtt, the great chief of the town of Neter, which lay not far from Heliopolis, had occupied the nomes of Ka-ḥeseb (Xoïs), and Ḥāp, and Ān, and Pernub, and Memphis. The exact position of these places cannot be indicated, but it is quite clear from the context that Tafnekhtt had seized all the country in the western part of the Delta from Mareotis to the old capital Memphis. He had sailed up the Canopic arm of the Nile with a large army, and had been welcomed on both sides of the river by crowds of men who flocked to his banner. The local gentry and their Ḥā princes had espoused his cause, and the governors of the towns and the temple officials everywhere had joined him, and they crowded about him like dogs about the feet of their master. Moreover, in the South things were equally bad, for none of the fortified cities there had shut their gates against him. The people of the great towns of Mer-Tem (Mêdûm), and Per-Sekhem-kheper-Rā, and Ḥet-Neter-Sebek (Crocodilopolis), and Per-Mātchet (Oxyrhynchus), and Thekansh, and of every town on the west bank of the Nile in the vicinity of these towns, were so much afraid of Tafnekhtt that they opened their gates to him and allowed him to enter. On the east bank of the Nile the same thing had happened, for the people of Ḥet-Bennu, and Taiutchait, and Ḥet-suten, and Per-Neb-ṭep-âḥ (Aphroditopolis), had also opened their gates. As for the town of Ḥenensu (Hanes, or Herakleopolis), he had surrounded it with troops so completely that

the cordon resembled a serpent coiled in a round with its tail in its mouth. It was quite impossible for anyone to go into it or to come out from it, and Tafnekhtt had entrusted the siege to a series of the confederate governors of towns, each of whom was in command of a company of soldiers and undertook to keep strict watch over the portion of the walls which he was ordered to invest.

This report made it quite clear that Tafnekhtt was supported by the people of the Delta generally, and that his rival of Bubastis had failed to stop his victorious progress. Tafnekhtt was at that moment master of all Lower Egypt, and of a portion of Upper Egypt which reached so far as the modern province of Minyâ. Every town had yielded to him except Herakleopolis, which lay about 85 miles south of Memphis and was in sore straits, for the country both to the south and north of it was in the hands of Tafnekhtt. When Piānkhi heard this report, he laughed to himself, and did nothing, for he had confidence in the efficacy of the measures which he would take to stop the advance of Tafnekhtt when the right time arrived. Moreover, he knew that he could rely on his troops which were then in Egypt, probably in the neighbourhood of Thebes, to prevent the advance of Tafnekhtt if it were absolutely necessary to do so, and Piānkhi wished to lure him as far away from his base as possible before he permitted the Nubian soldiers to strike.

After a short time the governors of the cities in Upper Egypt and the magnates sent a message to Piānkhi asking if he had forgotten all about the South of Egypt and the nomes which belonged to his kingdom in it, and whether he was going to remain inactive, and so allow Tafnekhtt to advance up the river as far as he pleased. They further informed him that Nemareth, the Prince of Ḥet-urt, had pulled down the fortifications of the town of Neferus and destroyed his own town, fearing that it would be captured by Tafnekhtt, and then went on to say that this same Nemareth had gone over to the side of the enemy, and was at that time living in Oxyrhynchus as an adherent of Tafnekhtt, to whom he was always offering propitiatory gifts of everything which his new overlord desired, and as much as he desired. Nemareth, it seems, was a wealthy but timid prince, who in a fit of fear destroyed his own town, and being apprehensive that Tafnekhtt, if he were ultimately successful, would punish him for it, transferred his allegiance to him with the view of saving his life and property. The history of the British campaigns in Egypt and the Sûdân affords many parallels to the act of Nemareth.

In answer to this second report Piānkhi sent instructions to Puarma and Lasmersekni, the captains in command of the Nubian troops in Egypt, to attack the nome of Hermopolis which Nemareth had voluntarily handed over to Tafnekhtt, and to besiege it, and to seize all its people, together with their cattle and their

boats. No one was to leave the town, not even the labourers who tilled their lands just outside the walls. Piānkhi then gathered together an army for despatch to Egypt, intending it to reinforce his troops already there, and he gave them strict injunctions to march quickly. Ye are not going to play a leisurely game of draughts, but to fight a battle. Ye must move by day and by night. If the enemy be marching against you, wait in good order till they come up, and then attack them. If they are in some town, then go and attack them. Tafnekhtt will have Libyans and picked troops to help him, but heed not this; yoke your best horses to your chariots, and go out against them and fight like your ancestors. When ye arrive in Thebes, go and bathe in the river, dress yourselves in clean apparel, unstring your bows, and lay aside your arrows in their quivers. Go into the temple of Åmen and be sprinkled with holy water, bow yourselves to the ground and do homage to the god, and beseech him to lead you on your way, and to let you fight under the shadow of his sword. It is useless for the mighty warrior to boast of his strength, for without Åmen there is no strength. He makes the weak man to become a mighty man of war; and when filled with his strength one weak man can capture a thousand. Such is the substance of Piānkhi's instructions. To these the soldiers made a loyal answer, saying: Your name is our strength, your advice is the prop of your soldiers, and your bread and beer support our bodies. Our strength comes from you,

the sound of your name shall give us victory: no army could conquer that was led by a dastard. Who is there like unto you?

This army then departed northwards, and when the soldiers arrived in Thebes they carried out their king's commands in respect of paying homage to Åmen-Rā. A portion of them may have sailed down the river from Napata to Thebes, but it is quite certain that the greater number marched to the city of Åmen on foot. The equipment of the Nubian soldiers must have been then much what it was in the days of the Khalîfah 'Abd-Allah, and their commissariat arrangements much the same. Their arms were bows and arrows and short knives, and some of them had spears and shields. Their food consisted of dates and dhura (millet) or grain of some kind, and when they could not drink from the river they had recourse to water-skins, which they filled at wells and pools in rocks on the road. The route which they must have followed was that which, starting from a little below Napata, crossed a portion of the terrible Abû Ḥamed desert, and continued through the desert on the east side of the Nile to Syene and thence by Daraw to Thebes. Part of the force probably floated down the river to some spot near Hafir, and then took to the desert. In any case the soldiers marched rapidly; and the movements of the troops of the Mahdî and Khalîfah between 1886 and 1898 show how quickly native Sûdânî troops can move when necessary.

When due homage had been paid to Åmen, the reinforcements from Nubia set out in boats to sail down the river, but before they had gone very far they met Tafnekhtt's war-boats sailing up the river, filled with soldiers and sailors and officers, all armed to the teeth, and on their way to fight Piānkhi's troops. A fierce fight then took place; untold numbers of Tafnekhtt's men were killed and drowned, their boats were seized, and large numbers of prisoners were captured and taken to the place where the king was. When the fight was over, Piānkhi's troops continued their journey down the river to Herakleopolis, where they made ready for battle.

At this point the narrative is broken by the insertion of a list of the allies of Tafnekhtt, who appear to have assembled outside Herakleopolis to help him to conduct the siege. The Nubians attacked the allies without delay, and slew large numbers of the men and captured their boats, and the remnant of the vanquished fled westwards across a stream, which must have been the Baḥr Yûsuf, and took refuge in Per-Peḳ, the site of which is unknown. Early the next morning Piānkhi's men pursued and overtook the fugitives, and another fierce fight took place; large numbers of men and horses were slain, and the result was so disastrous to Tafnekhtt that panic seized the remainder of his men, and they broke and fled to the north. The number of the killed has, unfortunately, been omitted from the Stele.

When news reached Nemareth that his nome Hermopolis had fallen into the hands of the Nubians, and that they were seizing his people and their cattle, he left Herakleopolis and sailed up the river and succeeded in getting into his own town, notwithstanding the fact that Nubian war-boats were anchored close by at the town quay. As soon as the Nubians heard of this they followed him and surrounded Hermopolis, and invested the town so closely that no one could go into or come out from it. This done, the Nubian generals reported to Piānkhi all that had taken place. When Piānkhi read the report he was greatly enraged because his troops had allowed a portion of Tafnekhtt's army to escape northwards after the battle at Herakleopolis. Taking a great oath by Åmen, he swore that he would himself go to Egypt, and treat Tafnekhtt in such a way that he would never be able to fight again. He decided to stay in Napata and to take part in the New Year festival, and to pray to Åmen that success might follow his journey to Egypt. This done, he would go to Thebes and celebrate the great festival of the Åpt, and cause Åmen to appear in the procession, the final ceremonies of which were performed on the second day of the third month of the season Akhet, i.e., about September 21.

When the Nubian army in Egypt heard of their lord's wrath because they had allowed the remnant of Tafnekhtt's army to escape, the generals determined to succeed better in future, and at once attacked

Oxyrhynchus, which they took like a water-flood. They reported their success to Piānkhi, but he was not satisfied. Then they attacked Ta-tehen (Tehnah), which was a very strong town, and was well defended. They broke down the walls with battering rams, and rushing in, slew large numbers of men, including the son of Tafnekhtt. They reported their success to Piānkhi, but still he was not satisfied. The Nubians next attacked Ḥet-Bennu, and captured it, and still Piānkhi was not satisfied.

On the ninth day of the first month of Akhet (about July 28), Piānkhi left Napata for Thebes, and he was present at the celebration of the festival of the Ȧpt in Thebes about eight weeks later. He then embarked and sailed down the river to Hermopolis, where he left the boat, and mounting his chariot drove to the camp and rallied his men for not having made an end of the war and established his rule throughout Egypt. He told them that there must be one great battle, and that the enemy must be wiped out once and for all. He pitched his tent to the south-west of Hermopolis, and took command of the siege. He threw up mounds against the walls and built stagings in such positions that the archers could shoot their arrows and the slingers sling their stones into the very heart of the town daily. This went on for several days, and at length the town was in such a sickening state that it "threw itself upon its belly, and begged the king to show mercy" on it. With the petition came envoys

bearing gold, silver, precious stones, a box of apparel, and even Nemareth's crown. At their head came Nemareth's wife, who was a king's daughter, and she entreated the royal ladies of Piānkhi's house to support her prayers for mercy. A break in the text robs us of Piānkhi's reply, but it is clear that he accepted the gifts of Nemareth and spared the lives of himself and his family, and ordered him to appear before him. When Nemareth came, Piānkhi pressed him to tell him under whose advice he had acted, and then made several reflections the exact import of which it is difficult to gather. Nemareth threw himself on the ground and tendered his humble submission, promising to become a vassal and to pay tribute. His servants brought out much treasure of all kinds and filled Piānkhi's treasury therewith, and Nemareth himself brought as personal gifts a sistrum made of gold and lapis-lazuli, and a horse.

Piānkhi then entered the city and went into the temple of Thoth and his Eight Gods, and offered up bulls and calves and geese, and the people of the town rejoiced and sang his praises. From the temple he went to Nemareth's palace, and inspected his rooms and his treasury and storehouses, and the ladies of the palace were presented to him, but though they sang Piānkhi's praises the king did not turn his face towards them. From the palace he went to the stables and the stud-farm, and the keen eye of the Nubian king at once noticed that the foals had been half starved during the

siege. As he looked on the poor creatures his anger blazed forth, and he swore to Nemareth by Rā that the starving of his horses was far worse in his sight than all the other iniquities put together which Nemareth had committed, because it indicated the existence of a cruel (or, brutal) heart in Nemareth. He went on to say that a further proof of this fact was the terror of him which was evinced by those who were about him. In his further remarks Piānkhi reminded Nemareth that the shadow of God was over him, and that because of this fact his luck never deserted him. Had anyone but thou done this thing, he said to Nemareth, I would never have forgiven him. All who know the admiration with which a Sûdânî man regards a fine, well-bred horse will understand Piānkhi's anger against Nemareth. Piānkhi then confiscated all Nemareth's property, his personal possessions going to the king's treasury,[1] and all the stores of food and grain going to that of the god Åmen.

Soon after these things Pefnefṭāṭā-Bast, the governor of Herakleopolis, came to the palace bearing tribute, gold, silver, precious stones, and the finest horses in his stud. He threw himself on the ground, tendered his submission, and declared himself Piānkhi's vassal. The gifts which he brought cannot have been very numerous or valuable, for his town had been besieged for months, and the people must have come to the end of their resources. But the fine old warrior

[1] The modern equivalent of this treasury is the "Bêt al-mâl."

proffered his loyalty, and described recent events in graphic words: Hail, Horus, great king, Bull, conqueror of Bulls. Hell got hold upon me, and I was swallowed up in darkness, but now light has come. I had no friend at all to stand by me in the day of battle; you have driven away the darkness.

After these things Piānkhi continued his journey northwards and sailed down the river to the "head of the lake" near Re-ḥent (the modern Illâhûn), i.e., to the head of the canal which flows through an opening in the hills into the Fayyûm. He found that the town of Per-Sekhem-kheper-Rā, which had been built by Osorkon I., was shut against him, that its walls had been heightened, and that they were manned with warriors who were ready to fight against him. Piānkhi sent a message telling them that if they did not open their gates at once he would destroy them, and without further delay they did so. The chiefs of the people came out to Piānkhi, among them being a son of Tafnekhtt, and the Nubian army marched in and looted the town. The governor's personal possessions went to the king's treasury, and the other things, stores, etc., were set apart for Åmen. Proceeding northwards Piānkhi next came to Mer-Tem (Mêdûm), the gates of which were closed against him, for the inhabitants intended to resist his entry. A peremptory order from him caused them to alter their minds, and they opened their gates immediately, and the Nubian army marched in. The king went to the temple of

Seker and Menḥi of Seḥetch and made offerings to these gods, and then the army looted the town, the spoil being divided as before. Farther to the north Piānkhi found the town of Thet-taui shut against him, and its walls manned with soldiers; nevertheless the gates were opened to him, and his army marched in. He offered up sacrifices to the gods of the town, and then the army looted the town, the spoil being divided as before.

The road to Memphis was now clear before Piānkhi, and thither he marched, without turning out of his way to reduce the towns to the west and east which had not submitted to him. When he arrived at Memphis he sent a messenger to the city bidding its people not to shut its gates before him and not to fight. He promised not to interfere with the daily business of the people, to make offerings to Ptaḥ and the other gods in his sanctuary, and to Seker, and to pass on down the Nile. If they surrendered peaceably no one should suffer injury, and not even a child should cry. And he bade them to remember that during his progress northwards only rebels had been slain. The people of Memphis, however, shut their gates, and sent out a company of soldiers to fall upon a number of Piānkhi's artificers, masons and boatmen, who were near the town quay, and they killed them. Whilst Piānkhi was approaching Memphis, Tafnekhtt arrived in the city, and he harangued the garrison, which consisted of 8000 men, and encouraged them to defend the city with all their

might. He pointed out that the city wall was very strong, that the fortifications were good, that it was protected on its eastern side by the river, and that its capture was impossible. Moreover, the treasury was full of gold and silver, etc., the granaries were overflowing with grain, the market was filled with cattle, and, with a touch of flattery, he told them that the finest troops of the North were in it, and he besought them to resist Piānkhi to the death. He went on to say that he was going to give gifts to the princes of the Delta, and that he should be absent for a few days, and then, mounting a horse, for he did not dare to use a chariot, he departed northwards with the fear of Piānkhi upon him.

Just after Tafnekhtt's departure Piānkhi arrived outside Memphis, and landed on the north side of it, where he saw the water close up to the wall and the boats of the city moored to it. He inspected the wall and found that it was very strong, and saw that it had been strengthened and heightened, and that its battlements were manned with soldiers. He and his generals then began to discuss the plan of attack. The majority thought the city could only be taken by siege, because of the strength of its garrison. Others wished to throw up mounds about it and make a way to the walls from them, and then build stagings along which men could get on to the walls, their attack being covered by archers and slingers who would shoot their missiles at the defenders. Piānkhi, raging like a leopard mean-

while, listened to all these counsels, but finally decided to take the city by assault. The sight of the boats moored to the north wall of Memphis had given him an idea. He first sent his fleet of war-boats to attack the quay and seize the shipping, which included open boats, decked boats, barges and lighters, grain boats, and even sea-going boats which had come up the river with cargo. When the boats were captured he himself went down to the quay, and made his men set the boats in a row parallel with the wall, with their bows pointing to the wall, to which they were fastened by ropes. Piānkhi then drew up his men and ordered them to attack the city. The Nubians rushed to the bows of the boats, and leaped from them on to the city walls, and from them they forced their way into the houses which were built against them, and descended through them into the city itself. Before the people of Memphis realized what was happening, the Nubians were in their midst, carrying slaughter wheresoever they went, and before sundown they had taken many prisoners, who were marched off to the place where Piānkhi was.

On the following day Piānkhi sent troops into Memphis to protect the great temple of Ptaḥ and to prevent the looting and pillaging of the houses by the mob. He himself went into the sanctuary and made offerings to the gods of the temple, and purified the city with natron and incense, and re-established the priests in their benefices. He next went to the temple

of Ptaḥ, and attended the solemn service in the Ṭuat Chamber, where he performed all the ceremonies which the ritual demanded from a king. After this he went into the House of the God and offered up bulls, geese, etc., to Ptaḥ of the Southern Wall, and the god accepted his offerings, thereby acknowledging his sovereignty over Egypt; and Piānkhi returned to his house. The news of the capture of Memphis had a marvellous effect on the rebel chiefs in the neighbourhood, for those who had shut the gates of their towns, intending to fight, opened them immediately, and their inhabitants fled no one knew whither. And Åupeth, and Merkaneshu (or, Akaneshu), and Peṭā-Åstetå, and all the Ḥā princes of the Delta, came bearing gifts in order "to behold the beauties of His Majesty," i.e., to experience his forgiveness and mercy. These gifts Piānkhi probably kept for himself, but he took nothing for himself from Memphis, for he divided all the treasure and grain between Åmen and Ptaḥ and his company of gods.

After these things Piānkhi crossed the Nile and paid a visit to the temple of Tem of Kher-āḥa, a town which lay somewhere between the modern Fusṭâṭ (Old Cairo) and Maṭarîyah. Here he offered up bulls, calves, and geese to Tem and to the gods of the Other World of the town of Kher-āḥa, and prayed for life, health, and strength. It will be remembered that Piānkhi claimed in line 1 of his inscription that he was the "living conception" of Tem. From Kher-āḥa he crossed over to Heliopolis by way of the ridge along which ran the

road of the god Sep, and he went to the camp which was pitched at Ati, by the side of the great canal of Heliopolis. He purified himself ceremonially in the temple lake called Qebḥ, which was a type of the firmament, and he bathed in the stream which symbolized the celestial ocean of Nu, wherein Rā was supposed to dip his face. Then he went to the place called "Sandy Height" and made an offering of white bulls, milk and myrrh, etc. Why this place was sacred and why white bulls were sacrificed there is not known. From Sandy Height he went to the great temple of Rā, where he offered up thanksgiving. The chief Kher-ḥeb priest thanked God for Piānkhi's coming, and prayed that he might destroy all rebels. After he had attended the solemn service in the Ṭuat Chamber, he girded on the *seṭeb* garment, and was censed and asperged, and flowers were placed in his hands, and then he ascended the steps leading to the sacred ark which contained a figure of the god. He broke the seal on the doors of the ark, drew back the bolts, and then saw his Father Rā face to face. Having adored the Morning and Evening Boats of Rā, he closed the doors, and sealed them with his own seal. Thus Piānkhi was recognized by the god of Heliopolis as the king of all Egypt. He next went to the temple of Tem, and took part in the procession in which a figure of Tem-Kheperà made of myrrh was carried round the temple. Whilst Piānkhi was in this neighbourhood king Osorkon (III.?) came and tendered his submission,

for he saw that all chance of a Bubastite king occupying the throne of Egypt had vanished for ever.

Soon after this Piānkhi crossed the Nile and entered the nome of Ka-kam, or Athribis, and he pitched his camp at Kaheni, in the eastern part of the nome. Thither came all the kings and princes of the Delta, and all their underlords, to tender their submission and to receive his pardon. At their head came Peṭā-Ástet, governor of Athribis, who did homage, and begged Piānkhi to enter his town and sacrifice to the "unborn Horus," or Khenti-khatthi, and Khuit, and he invited him to take possession of his treasury. He also promised Piānkhi as much gold as he wanted, turquoises as large as his face, and the best horses of his stud. Piānkhi entered the town and offered sacrifices to the gods thereof, and received a magnificent gift of gold and precious stones, changes of apparel made of byssus, couches and coverlets, scents and unguents, and fine horses, both stallions and mares. Peṭā-Ástet then took a solemn oath declaring that he had concealed no valuable thing from Piānkhi, and he called upon each of his friends present, if he knew of any precious object which had been hidden by him (i.e., by Peṭā-Ástet), to declare it then and there in the king's presence. Finally he entreated Piānkhi to go himself into the stables and stud-farm, and to choose for himself the horses which he would like to take away. The last statement seems to suggest that some account of Piānkhi's anger against Nemareth for having kept his

horses short of food during the siege had become known to Peṭā-Ȧstet, who had in consequence determined to let the king make his own selection of horses from the royal stables at Athribis. Piānkhi was a genuine lover of horses, and a gift of valuable brood-mares and stallions would do more to win his favour for Peṭā-Ȧstet than fine words and gifts which were useless in war. When the kings and princes saw what Peṭā-Ȧstet had done, they asked Piānkhi for permission to go to their towns that they might bring back to him gifts from their treasuries and the "finest mares in our studs, and the best of our chargers," and it was granted. These kings and princes were fifteen in number, and their names are given in lines 114–117 of the text. In due course they returned with their gifts and presented to the king gold, silver, couches, horses, etc.

Several days after this Tafnekhtt tried to stir up revolt in the Western Delta. He burned everything which he had in his storehouses, and his boats on the river, and sent a body of troops to occupy the town of Meṣṭ. The exact site of this town is unknown, but it appears to have been held by the soldiers of Peṭā-Ȧstet, who, as we have seen, had acknowledged Piānkhi's sovereignty. When Piānkhi heard of this he sent his soldiers to see what fate had befallen the men of Peṭā-Ȧstet, and when the Nubians returned they reported that the loyal troops had slain the rebels to a man. As a reward for his loyalty Piānkhi gave the town of Meṣṭ to Peṭā-Ȧstet. When Tafnekhtt heard what

had happened he sent to Piānkhi a messenger, who, with many soft words, tendered Tafnekhtt's submission and begged for amnesty. He compared Piānkhi to Nubt and Menthu, the War-gods of Ombos and Thebes respectively, and admitted that he could not resist his fire. Wherever he fled Piānkhi's Souls pursued him, and struck terror into his bones. His petition may be thus summarized: Art thou not yet content with what thou hast already done to me? I am a most miserable man, punish me not according to my deserts. Do not destroy the seed, and dig not up the tree by its roots. The terror of thee in me has been so great that I could not sit in the beer-hall, or enjoy music, and I have only eaten and drunk to satisfy my bare needs. Sickness hath stricken me, I have become bald, and I am in rags, and the past year hath taken my Ka from me. Purge my offence, accept all my possessions, gold, precious stones, and horses, and let them serve as an indemnity. Send me a messenger bearing forgiveness, and let him drive fear from me. Then will I go to the temple of Neith and swear a solemn oath of allegiance to thee.

In answer to this petition Piānkhi sent the chief Kher-ḥeb priest and Puarma the general to the place where Tafnekhtt was, and they received from him his gifts on behalf of the king. Then Tafnekhtt went into the temple and prayed, and taking a most solemn oath he swore that he would never dispute Piānkhi's authority by word or deed, that he would attack no

prince without his knowledge, and that he would yield implicit and unquestioning obedience to all the king's commands. When his envoys reported these things to Piānkhi he declared himself to be content.

The report of Piānkhi's conquests had by this time spread through the land, and the governors of the towns who had joined in Tafnekhtt's rising thought it was high time to tender their submission and make peace with their new king. It will be remembered that while Piānkhi was marching on Memphis he made no attempt to reduce Crocodilopolis in the Fayyûm and Aphroditopolis on the east bank of the Nile, and the governors of these and other towns now came to present gifts to him and to beg for mercy. Early one morning the arrival of two Governors of the South and two Governors of the North was reported to Piānkhi, and with them came a number of princes and governors of districts in the North, with their knees shaking under them like those of women. One of the two Governors of the South was Nemareth, who was permitted to enter the king's house, but as the other three were "eaters of fish," they were regarded as unclean, and were therefore made to stand outside it. The submission of all was accepted, and Piānkhi was now *de facto* King of Upper and Lower Egypt. Wearying, apparently, for his native land, he ordered all the gifts which had been made to him to be loaded into boats, and he and his warriors sailed up the river to the South. His spoil was rich, for it included the

choicest produce of Syria and Arabia, and his heart was glad. On each side of the river crowds of people assembled and sang Piānkhi's praises as he went along, and celebrated his conquest with rejoicing, and ascribed blessings to the father who begat him and the mother who bore him.

Thus we come to the end of one of the most interesting historical inscriptions yet discovered in the Valley of the Nile. Piānkhi's narrative is clear and concise, and, though properly giving the first place to the details of his great war, still manages to include a description of several incidents which we should not expect to find in such a text. Piānkhi was no barbarian who loved fighting for fighting's sake, and the mere acquisition of spoil was not his object in invading Egypt. He and his army went to Egypt to defend Nubian interests, and to prevent the Thebaïd from becoming an appanage of the kings of the Delta. The civilization of Egypt was a thing which he respected, and, as we have seen, he honoured her gods and their temples, and was deeply anxious to be recognized by them as the conqueror of the country. He struck swiftly, and he struck hard, but he behaved far better as a conqueror in Egypt than the Egyptians had done in the Sûdân. Rebels he slew mercilessly, but he spared human life in general, and protected property. And when his foes submitted to him he treated them generously, as we may see from the case of Tafnekhtt. He might well have insisted on the appearance in person before him of this prince, and

he might have made him to "smell the earth," and humbled him in the dust before the assembled princes, nobles, governors, and gentry of the Delta and Middle Egypt. But he remembered that Tafnekhtt had been to all intents and purposes the king of Lower Egypt, and he had, after all, only fought for his own interest, as Piānkhi himself had done. Besides, he was a brave man, and Piānkhi loved a brave man as he loved a fine horse.

Of the latter part of the reign of Piānkhi we know nothing, but at some time during his rule he built a temple at Gebel Barkal; and if we possessed more inscriptions of his we should probably find that he was as able an administrator as he was a soldier. When he returned to Napata with the loads of rich gifts which he had been given in Egypt, he was no doubt warmly welcomed by the priests of Åmen. His return in triumph with abundant spoil would remind them of the traditions of their ancestors, which must have come down to them, concerning the riches with which the great kings of the XVIIIth Dynasty filled the treasury of the temple of Åmen at Thebes as the result of their great wars in Syria. Nubia had enriched Egypt greatly with her gold and silver, and now Nubia was receiving back a little of her own.

There is no ground for thinking that Piānkhi lived in Egypt after its conquest by him, which probably took place about B.C. 721, but he must certainly be regarded as the actual founder of the XXVth Dynasty

It was the success of his campaign in Egypt that consolidated the Nubian power in that country, and made it possible for his brother Shabaka to become the first king of the XXVth Dynasty.

II.

The Dream of Tanuath-Ámen, or Tanut-Ámen.

The text describing the Dream of Tanut-Ámen is cut in hieroglyphics upon a stele of grey granite about 4 ft. 8 in. high and about 2 ft. 5 in. wide, which was found at Gebel Barkal with the Stele of Piānkhi under circumstances already described, and which is now preserved in the Egyptian Museum at Cairo,[1] where it bears the number 691. The contents of the text were first described by Mariette in 1865,[2] and the text was first published, with a French translation, by Prof. Maspero in 1868.[3] An English version of Prof. Maspero's translation was published a few years later,[4] and this was reprinted in 1898.[5] The text was also translated by Brugsch in his History of Egypt,[6] and

[1] See Maspero, *Guide*, 1910 edition, p. 214.
[2] *Revue Arch.*, tom. ii., p. 161 ff.
[3] *Ibid.*, tom. i., p. 329 ff.
[4] *Records of the Past*, Old Series, vol. iv., p. 79 ff.
[5] *Bibliothèque Égyptologique*, tom. vii., p. 218 ff.
[6] *Geschichte Ägyptens*, p. 707 ff.

a rendering of this German translation appeared in the English version of his History.[1] Another English translation was published in 1906.[2] Devéria's copy of the text was incorporated in Mariette's great work,[3] which was issued by Prof. Maspero in 1889, and a most careful transcript, made from the original by Dr. Schäfer, appeared in 1905.[4]

Before describing the "Stele of the Dream" and its contents it may be useful to point out the facts connected with the short reign of Tanut-Ȧmen.

Pi-ānkhi-meri-Ȧmen, the conqueror of Egypt, was succeeded not by his son Taharqa (Tirhâḳâh), but by his brother Shabaka, who was thus the first king of the XXVth Dynasty. Shabaka reigned at least twelve years, for an inscription in the Wâdî Ḥammâmât is dated in his twelfth year, but the exact year of his accession is not known. We may assume that his reign began about B.C. 715, and that he died about 703–2. Of him very little is known, but he adopted the style and titles of a Pharaoh, and honoured the gods of Egypt and repaired their temples at Thebes, Memphis, Heliopolis, and Bubastis. At some period he came in conflict with Bakenrenf, Prince of Saïs, who is said to have been the son of Tafnekhtt, and to have reigned six years. He was the only king of the XXIVth Dynasty, and appears to have succeeded his

[1] *Egypt under the Pharaohs*, vol. ii., p. 248 ff.
[2] Breasted, *Egypt*, vol. iv., p. 467.
[3] *Monuments Divers*, pl. 7. [4] *Urkunden*, III., p. 57.

Ruins of the Temple of Tirhâḳâh at Gebel Barkal.

From a drawing by Hoskins.

father two or three years before Shabaka began to reign. About his death the inscriptions tell us nothing, but there are traditions reported by classical writers which state that he was taken prisoner by Shabaka, who either flayed or burned him alive. Shabaka was a contemporary of the Assyrian kings Sargon and Sennacherib, and between him and the former king some correspondence must have passed, for two clay seals bearing his prenomen were found among the tablets of the Royal Library at Nineveh.[1]

Shabaka was succeeded by his son Shabataka, who reigned twelve or fourteen years. Of the reign of this king very little is known from native sources, but the Assyrian inscriptions indicate that he became an ally of Hezekiah, king of Judah, and assisted him in his war against Sennacherib, king of Assyria. In his second campaign Sennacherib made an expedition to Syria and Palestine, and imposed his rule upon all the kings there, and made them tributaries. Hezekiah had stirred up the wrath of Sennacherib by taking part in the deposition of Padi, who had been appointed governor of Amḳarruna by Sargon, and by shutting him up in prison in Jerusalem. When Hezekiah heard that Sennacherib was marching against him, he must have appealed to the king of Egypt, who was presumably Shabataka, for assistance. In due course the Assyrian army appeared, and Sennacherib found

[1] Layard, *Nineveh and Babylon*, 1867, pp. 173, 174; and see Bezold, *Catalogue*, p. 1784.

that "a countless host of bowmen, and chariots, and horses of the king of Milukhkhi" had been gathered together by the kings of the land of Egypt, and that they were drawn up in battle array at Eltekeh. In the fight which took place Sennacherib captured alive, with his own hands, "the prince of the chariots, and the sons of the king of Egypt, and the prince of the chariots of the king of Milukhkhi," and he captured the town of Eltekeh. Shabataka, always supposing that it was he who tried to resist the advance of Sennacherib, was naturally anxious to prevent an invasion of Egypt by the Assyrians, and he may have felt that Palestine was a province of Egypt. That Sennacherib intended to punish the Egyptians is tolerably clear, and, but for some untoward circumstance, there is no doubt that he would have done so. Facts, however, are wanting, and exactly how far Shabataka was mixed up with Hezekiah and his allies is not known. The battle of Eltekeh must in any case have convinced him of the futility of disputing the advance of the Assyrians unless he could obtain help, and he may have appealed to Taharqa for horses and chariots and men. According to a tradition, Taharqa came to the Delta and deposed him, and finally had him killed in prison.

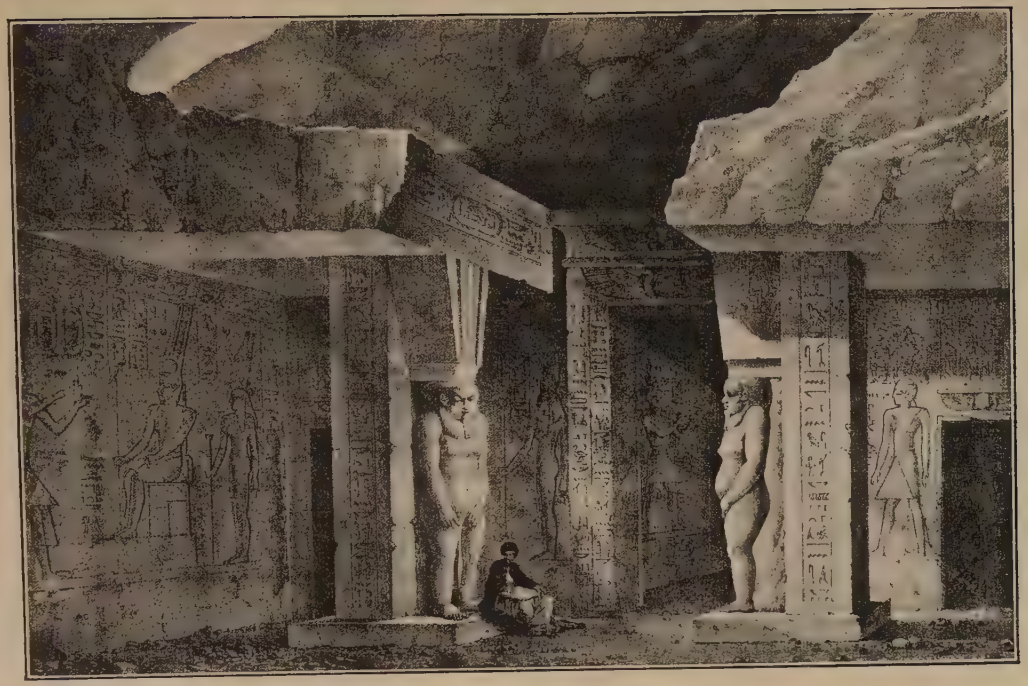
Taharqa (Tirhâkâh), the third and last Nubian king of Egypt, succeeded to the throne some six or seven years before the death of Sennacherib, which took place B.C. 681. A few facts concerning the early life of Taharqa are made known to us by a stele which he set

up at Tanis to commemorate his coronation. He went from Nubia to Lower Egypt when he was twenty years of age in the train of a king, who was probably Shabaka, and there he was settled, presumably by this king, on a farm. He worked on the farm for some years, taking as his share the grain, whilst the king seems to have taken the cattle. It is probable that Shabaka employed him on one or more of his campaigns against the Assyrians, but, be this as it may, a time came when Åmen made him king, though he was only a younger son. Taharqa then thought of his mother, whom he had not seen since he was twenty years of age—now he must have been at that time between forty and fifty, for he began to reign about B.C. 690—and sent a messenger to her at Napata, bidding her to come to the north to witness his coronation. She came, and saw her son with the double crown of the South and North on his head, and she rejoiced over him as Isis rejoiced when she saw her son Horus seated on the throne of his father Osiris.[1] Taharqa's affection for his mother is a touching trait in his character, and is another illustration of the love and regard of Sûdânî children for their mothers which has always been one of their best characteristics. Taharqa built at Gebel Barkal a temple dedicated to Åmen-Rā and Mut, which was about 120 feet long; the sanctuary was hewn

[1] See De Rougé, *Mélanges*, tom. i., p. 21 ff.; Birch, *Trans. Soc. Bibl. Arch.*, vol. vii., p. 194 ff.; Petrie, *Tanis*, vol. ii., p. 29, pl. 9, No. 163; Schäfer, *Äg. Zeit.*, 1900, p. 51 f.

out of the living rock. He also carried out several repairs on other temples there. At Thebes many restorations and additions to existing buildings were carried out for him by Menthu-em-ḥāt, the son of Nesu-Ptaḥ, high priest of Thebes and fourth prophet of Åmen.

During the reign of Taharqa Egypt was invaded (about B.C. 670) by Esarhaddon, who defeated the Egyptians and their allies in four battles, and marched on Memphis, which he captured and plundered. Taharqa escaped, and fled either to Thebes or farther south to Napata. All the governors of cities in the Delta hastened to tender their submission to Esarhaddon, and to pay him tribute. Having appointed twenty governors to rule, each from his own city, the various provinces of Upper and Lower Egypt, he returned to Nineveh. Two years later he set out on a third campaign against Egypt, and died on the way thither, B.C. 668. Thereupon Taharqa returned to Egypt, and having expelled the governors who had been appointed by Esarhaddon, he advanced to Memphis, and proclaimed himself king of all Egypt. He celebrated with great and solemn ceremonies the deposit of an Apis Bull in the Serapeum at Ṣaḳḳârah in the twenty-fourth year of his reign. The news of the expulsion of the governors appointed by Esarhaddon was carried quickly to his son Ashur-bani-pal, who ascended the throne B.C. 668. This king set out for Egypt without delay, passed rapidly through Syria,



Entrance to the Temple of Tirhâḳâh, or the Typhonium, at Gebel Barkal.
From a drawing by Hoskins.

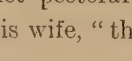
and marched to Karbaniti. He routed the force collected by Taharqa and his allies on the frontier, and when the news of their defeat reached Taharqa in Memphis he fled to Upper Egypt. Ashur-bani-pal sought out the governors who had been appointed by Esarhaddon and reinstated them, and then with much spoil returned to Assyria. After his departure the governors of Tanis, Saïs, and Per-Sept (Ṣaft al-Henna) entered into correspondence with Taharqa and proposed an alliance with him, and, apparently, suggested to him a plan for the destruction of the Assyrian forces in Egypt. The despatches were intercepted, and their contents made known to Ashur-bani-pal, who sent a second army to Egypt and slew a large number of rebels. The governors of Saïs and Per-Sept were sent to Nineveh, where the latter (Sharru-ludari) was killed and the former (Nekau) pardoned and sent back to Egypt. When Taharqa heard this he fled to Nubia, where he probably died, or was murdered, soon after his arrival.

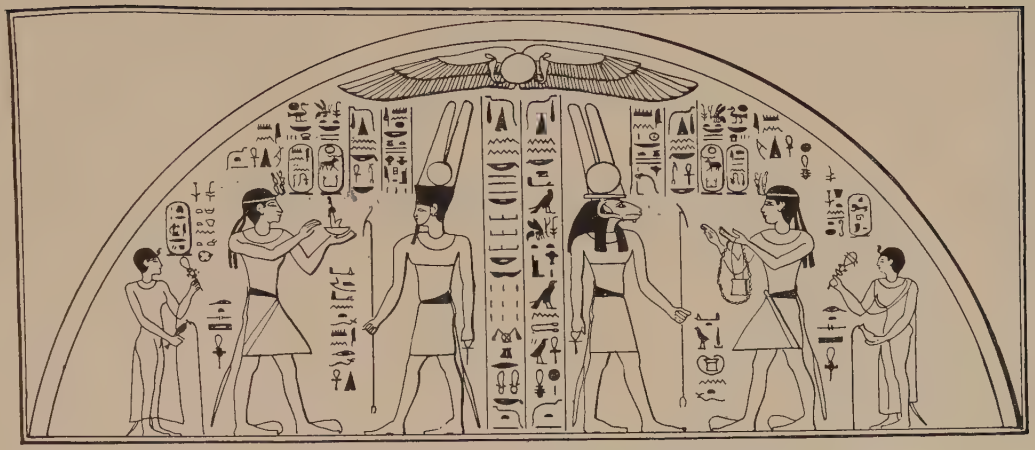
We now come to Tanut-Âmen, who, the writer of the Annals of Ashur-bani-pal says, was the son of Shabaka and Taharqa's sister; he was therefore Taharqa's nephew, and the grandson of Kashta. Tanut-Âmen appears to have been co-regent during the last year or two of Taharqa's reign, and to have lived in Upper Egypt. Taharqa probably died in Nubia, and when the news reached Tanut-Âmen in Egypt, he felt that he ought to succeed him on the throne. It is not diffi-

cult to imagine the doubts and fears which possessed his mind at this period, and his anxiety as to the course of action which he ought to pursue. Taharqa's armies had been destroyed, and the Assyrians were masters of Lower Egypt, and his difficulty was to know whether he ought to take steps to get himself crowned, and, supposing this was done, whether he could raise an army sufficiently strong to justify him in marching to the Delta and attacking the Assyrians. Whilst he was in this state of uncertainty, a dream came to him in which his course of action was made clear, and he received it as an intimation of the will of his god Åmen and as an assurance of success.

The upper portion of the Stele of Tanut-Åmen is rounded, and on the obverse is sculptured a scene which may be thus described:

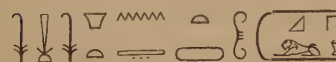
Beneath a winged disk, with pendent uraei, we see on the right a ram-headed god, with a disk and plumes on his head, holding in his hands a sceptre and the symbol of life. This is "Åmen-Rā, lord of the throne of the Two Lands (Egypt) in the Holy [Mountain]," and he is saying to the king, "I give unto thee life and all serenity." Before the god stands Tanut-Åmen, wearing a tunic, to the belt of which is attached a long tail, and sandals with high, curved latchets, presenting an amulet pectoral to Father Åmen,[1] and behind him stands his wife, "the royal sister, the Queen of Ta-sti,

[1]  .



The Sculptured Scene from the Stele of Tanuath-Âmen.

(Qelheta)," [1] rattling a sistrum [2] with her right hand, and pouring out a libation with her left. On the left we see a man-headed god, with a disk and plumes on his head, and holding a sceptre and the symbol of life in his hands. Like the other god, he wears a tunic reaching to his knees, and from its belt is suspended a long tail. This god is "Åmen-Rā, lord of the throne of the Two Lands, dweller in the Apts," and he is saying to the king, "I give unto thee life and all serenity." Before him stands Tanut-Åmen, dressed as before, presenting "an offering of Maāt (Truth) to Father Åmen, his maker, giver of life." [3] Behind him stands the royal sister wife, Queen of Egypt, (Ḳerâr . . . . .)," [4] who is pouring out a libation with her right hand and rattling a sistrum with her left. From this it seems clear that Tanut-Åmen had a Nubian wife in Napata, and an Egyptian wife in Thebes. The king's titles on each side are "King of "the South and North, (Ba-ka-Rā), son of Rā, lord of "diadems, (Tanut-Åmen), giver of life." Åmen of

1  .

2 .

3 .

4 ( ), as in Devéria's copy; see also *Äg. Zeit.*, Bd. xxx., p. 45, *e*.

Gebel Barkal and Åmen of Thebes each make a speech to the king, and say respectively:—

1. ,

"I cause thee to rise as King of the South and "North upon the throne of Horus of the "living (or, mankind) like Rā for ever."

2. ,

"I place all lands, and all deserts, and all the "Nine Nations of the Bow, under thy feet for "ever."

The first three lines of the text of the Stele enumerate the titles of Tanut-Åmen. According to these he was a god and king when he was born, and since his birth he was as Tem to his people, and a King and a Governor, bold and ever eager for fighting. He was mighty like Menthu, the War-god of Upper Egypt, and strong like the terrible Lion-god Maa-ḥes, and to the power of these gods was united in him the wisdom of Thoth. He pursued his enemies even to the Mediterranean Sea, and overtook them, and slew them and became master of their lands, for none could resist him. We have here probably an allusion to his warlike exploits before he became king. In the next paragraph (ll. 4 and 5) the dream is related. In the first year of his joint rule with Taharqa he saw in a dream by night

The Pyramids at Gebel Barkal as they appeared in 1820. From a drawing by Hoskins.

two serpents near him, one on his right hand and the other on his left. When he awoke he asked the priests, presumably, what the dream meant, and they told him that the two serpents indicated his sovereignty over the North as well as the South. The serpents were the incarnations of the goddesses Nekhebit and Uatchit, who represented the South and North respectively. Their coming to the king indicated that they acknowledged him as king of Egypt as well as of Nubia. Soon after this dream Tanut-Åmen left the place where he was in Upper Egypt and showed himself in the district, and he was "surrounded by millions and hundreds of thousands of men," i.e., the story of the dream had gone forth, and he was acclaimed king by all the people. Their acclamations convinced him that the dream had come true. Thereupon he left Egypt and went to Napata, meeting with no opposition by the way. At Napata he entered the temple of Åmen of the Holy Mountain, and he looked upon the face of the god, who acknowledged him to be the king. He then made a great festival in honour of Åmen, who was taken out from his shrine and carried in solemn procession by the priests, and endowed the sanctuary with 36 bulls (or, oxen), 40 vessels of beer, and 100 *shu*.

Tanut-Åmen then set out from Napata and went down the river to see Father Åmen, "whose name is a mystery to the gods." He stopped at Sunnu, the modern Aswân, and crossed over the river in a boat to the temple of Khnemu-Rā, which stood on the Island

of Elephantine. Khnemu-Rā was the great god of the Cataract region, and master of the two caverns (Qerti), by which the great celestial life-giving water Nu entered Egypt under the form of Ḥāpi, the Nile. To propitiate Khnemu-Rā was absolutely necessary, for the prosperity of all Egypt depended upon the Nile-flood, which he could withhold whensoever he pleased. Tanut-Ȧmen celebrated a festival in honour of all the gods of the Cataract, and then sailed down to Thebes. Here he went to the temple of Ȧmen-Rā, where he was received by the Sen(?)-ur priests, and the general company of the priests of the temple. We may note that no "high priest of Ȧmen" is mentioned, which is accounted for by the fact that the office was abolished some fifty years before Tanut-Ȧmen came to the throne. Having presented wreaths of flowers to Ȧmen and celebrated a great festival in his honour, Tanut-Ȧmen sailed for the North, and was welcomed by the people on both sides of the river all the way down. These looked to him to rebuild the temples which the Assyrians had destroyed, to set up the fallen statues of the gods, to restore the offerings, and to appoint priests to minister. When he arrived at Memphis the "sons of revolt" attempted to defend the city, but Tanut-Ȧmen defeated them and slew very many of them. He captured Memphis, and entering in celebrated a festival in honour of Ptaḥ, Ptaḥ-Seker, and the goddess Sekhemet. At this point the text gives a description of the sanctuary(?) which he made in Napata in honour

of Ȧmen-Rā. It was built of stone, and ornamented with gold and lined with cedar, and it had silver-gold doors with lead (?) bolts. Joined to this was a chamber which could be entered from the main building, and which was used in connection with the milk which was offered to Ȧmen. It is probable that this building was a gift to the priests of Ȧmen of Napata by the king in return for their support, and that it was paid for with funds obtained in Egypt.

Once again Tanut-Ȧmen embarked and sailed down the Nile to the Delta to attack the Princes of the North, but they retreated into their towns, like rats to their holes, and wholly declined to fight; after waiting several days for them to move out, and finding that not one of them ventured to appear, he returned to Memphis. Whilst he sat thinking out some plan whereby he might make the Princes of the North fight, report was brought to him that they had actually come to tender their submission to him, and were waiting to do so in the hall of his palace. Thereupon Tanut-Ȧmen began to praise Ȧmen, whose power and wisdom he glorified, and he told those about him that what the god had told him in the night had indeed come to pass by day. When Tanut-Ȧmen went to the assembled princes they cast themselves on the ground and did homage to him, and Paqrer, the governor of Per-Sept, who was presumably one of the three governors who had tried to make an alliance with Taharqa with the view of destroying the Assyrians in Egypt, addressed

to him a few words in which he admitted the absolute power of Tanut-Ȧmen over their lives. The rest of Paqrer's companions cried out, Give us breath, and let us serve thee as vassals: and Tanut-Ȧmen gave them bread and beer, and every good thing. After several days had passed Tanut-Ȧmen's vassals asked his permission to go and send gifts to him by their slaves, and when they had obtained it they departed and sent gifts in such abundance that his heart was satisfied. With this statement the text of the Stele comes to an end.

The sequel to the presentation of gifts to Tanut-Ȧmen by the Princes of the Delta is given by the Annals of Ashur-bani-pal. As soon as Tanut-Ȧmen besieged Memphis, a messenger was sent by the Assyrians to Nineveh to report the matter to the king of Assyria, and Ashur-bani-pal promptly set out with an army for "Egypt and Kush." When Tanut-Ȧmen heard that he had arrived in Egypt, he fled to Thebes, and the Princes who had given him gifts straightway went to meet the king of Assyria, and tendered their submission to him, and kissed his feet. The Assyrians marched to Memphis, and thence to Thebes, and Tanut-Ȧmen fled to Qepqepa. In due course Ashur-bani-pal reached Thebes, and he sacked the city in true Assyrian fashion, B.C. 661. He stripped the temples of their gold and silver, he emptied their treasuries, he wrecked the shrines, and carried away the two massive wooden obelisks (?) which were covered with thick plates of

gold, and he returned to Assyria with a "full hand." The city never recovered from the destruction which he wrought, and for it the Egyptians had to thank the arrogance and ignorance of the priests of Åmen. The Nubians fought the Egyptians with great success, and occupied their country, just as the modern Sûdânî tribes, if not held in check by the British, would occupy it to-day and make Cairo their capital. In their wars with the Assyrians the Nubians were always beaten, and when the Assyrians pursued them the Nubians ran away. Sib'e, the Tartan of Egypt, fled from Sargon, Taharqa fled from Esarhaddon and Ashur-bani-pal, and Tanut-Åmen fled from Ashur-bani-pal. The Nubian converts of the priests of Åmen at Napata destroyed Egypt as well as their own country, and brought upon it a state of ruin so awful that it was held up by the prophet Nahum as an example of the misfortune and calamity which he prophesied against the people of Nineveh.

III

The Election to the Throne and the Coronation of Åspelta, King of Nubia.

The text recording the Coronation of Åspelta is cut in hieroglyphics upon a massive grey granite stele 5 ft. 4 in. high, and 2 ft. 5 in. wide, which was found

with the Stele of Piānkhi at Gebel Barkal, and is now preserved in the Egyptian Museum in Cairo, where it bears the number 692.[1] The general contents of the inscription were described by Mariette in 1865,[2] and a full translation of the whole text was given in 1873 by Professor Maspero,[3] who added a valuable commentary on several difficult passages. An English version of the French translation was published in 1876,[4] and this was reprinted, substantially, in 1898;[5] and an English rendering by myself appeared in 1907.[6] The hieroglyphic text was first copied by Devéria in 1865, but his copy was not generally accessible until 1889, when it was issued by Professor Maspero,[7] together with Devéria's copies of the texts from the other Gebel Barkal stelae. A great many of the mistakes in the copy were corrected by Professor Maspero so far back as 1873. A good careful transcript of the first twenty-three lines of the text was published from paper squeezes by Dr. Schäfer,[8] who thinks that a close study of the original would render the restoration of several portions of the last lines of the text possible.

The upper portion of the stele is rounded, and on the

[1] See Maspero, *Guide*, 1910 edition, p. 214.

[2] *Revue Arch.*, tom. xii., p. 169 ff.

[3] *Ibid.*, tom. xxv., p. 300 f.; see the reprint of this in *Bibliothèque Égyptologique*, tom. vii., p. 135 ff.

[4] *Records of the Past*, Old Series, vol. vi., p. 71.

[5] *Bibl. Égypt.*, tom. vii., p. 223.

[6] *The Egyptian Sûdân*, vol. ii., p. 63 ff.

[7] *Monuments Divers*, pl. 9.

[8] *Urkunden*, iii., 81. Leipzig, 1808.

Sculptured Scene from the Stele of Aspelta.

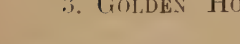
obverse is sculptured a scene in which the king is represented kneeling at the feet of Åmen-Rā of the Holy Mountain (Gebel Barkal). A glance at the drawing of this scene on Plate VI. shows that the hieroglyphics which were in the cartouches were chiselled out, probably by some enemy of Åspelta, who hoped by so doing to blot out Åspelta's name in the land. Fortunately, however, he seems to have forgotten that the first line of the inscription itself contained the Horus name, and the Nebti name, and the Golden Horus name of this king, and having left these unobliterated, he provided the modern investigator with the means for identifying the king whose monument he had defaced. The three names of the king referred to above are:

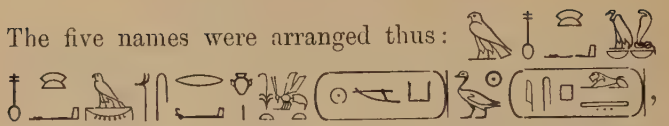
1. HORUS NAME, "Nefer-khā,"

2. NEBTI NAME, "Nefer-khā,"

3. GOLDEN HORUS NAME, "User-åb," ,

and on the Stele they appear in this order,

 . Now, when Professor Maspero was preparing his translation he noticed on a small stele, which was at that time in the possession of E. de Rougé and which must have come from Gebel Barkal, a group of five names of one king, three of which resembled, character for character, the three on the stele of the king whose cartouches had been obliterated.

The five names were arranged thus:  , and he saw that the two cartouches contained the two names which had been obliterated on the larger stele, namely, "Mer-ka-Rā," the prenomen, and "Åspelta," the nomen.

To assign an exact date to the reign of Åspelta, whose election to the throne and coronation are here described, is impossible, but a little calculation will enable us to say approximately when he lived. In lines 19–21 the scribe who drafted the inscription gave Åspelta's genealogy, and supplied the names of his father and mother, and of his mother's maternal ancestors for six generations. Now, in Åspelta's genealogy it is said that his grandmother was the "high priestess[1] of Åmen-Rā, the king of the gods of Thebes," and this being so it follows that she must have lived and served her office when the brotherhood of Åmen-Rā were still directed by a high priest, i.e., whilst it was still the custom to appoint high priests of Åmen. But there is reason to believe that the office of high priest of Åmen was abolished soon after the Nubian kings of the XXVth Dynasty began to rule; at all events, the office ceased to exist before Taharqa died, that is to say, before B.C. 662. Therefore Åspelta's grandmother must have been living before 663, and

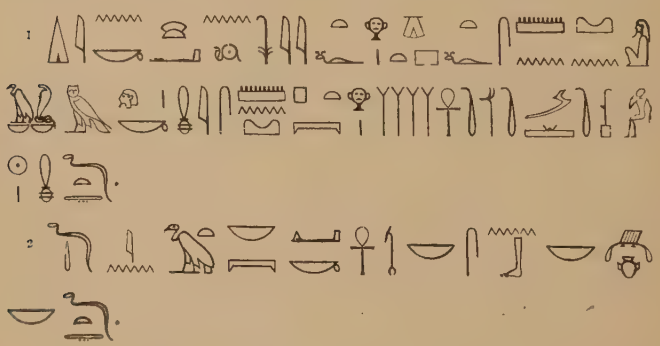
[1] .

View of the Pyramids of Gebel Barkal as they appeared in 1832.
From a drawing by Hoskins.

her grandson might well be reigning in the last quarter of the seventh century B.C., but not later. The fact that his mother did not bear the title "high priestess of Åmen-Rā" (*neter ṭuat*) shows that she lived after the office had been abolished. The genealogy of Åspelta states that his mother's maternal ancestor in the sixth generation was a "royal sister and a queen of Nubia"; thus we see that his claim to the throne of Nubia was a very strong one so far as blood is concerned, and his claim to it as the grandson of a high priestess of Åmen was, if anything, stronger still. If we reckon four generations to the century, it is clear that when Åspelta was born his maternal ancestor in the seventh generation must have been alive about one hundred and seventy-five years before his birth, and if five to the century, about one hundred and fifty years. In either case it seems that the queen of Nubia who was the great ancestress of Åspelta's family lived about the beginning of the eighth century B.C.

The upper part of the Stele of Åspelta is rounded, and on the obverse is sculptured the following scene. Under a large winged disk, with pendent uraei, is seated Åmen-Rā of the Holy Mountain; in his right hand he holds the symbol of "life," and his left is extended over the head of the king who kneels at his feet. The king holds the symbols of rule, , in his right hand, and "life" in his left, and over his brow are the uraei symbolic of his sovereignty over the

South and North. The god says, "I give unto thee "the crown of Rā and his sovereignty on his throne. I "establish the Nebti [Crown] on thy head, even as the "sky is established upon [its] four pillars. Thou shalt "live, and be strong, and renew thyself, and renew thy "youth like Rā for ever. All lands and all deserts are "gathered together under thy feet." [1] Behind the god stands the goddess Mut, the lady of heaven, who says, "I give thee life and all serenity, all health, all joy of "heart, for ever." [2] In front of the god stands Queen Nenselsa, whose face was obliterated by some political opponent with the object of destroying her soul in the Other World. Her name also is obliterated, but it is supplied by a stele in the Louvre which will be described later on. The queen wears a royal tiara, holds a sistrum in each hand, and wears a long double garment and sandals with raised latchets. The inscription of five lines in front of her reads: "The royal sister, royal "mother, the Queen of Kesh, [Nenselsa] saith: I come



"unto thee, O Åmen-Rā, lord of the throne of the Two "Lands, great god, dwelling in his Åpt, who knowest "the name and givest strength to thy follower. Stab- "lish thou thy beloved son [Åspelta], ever-living, in "the chief abode (?) of Rā. Let him be greater therein "than all the gods. Multiply thou his years of life "upon [earth] like [those of] Åten of the sky. Grant "thou to him life and all serenity before thee, all "health before thee, all joy of heart before thee, and to "rise as king upon the throne of Horus for ever!"

The inscription, which contains thirty lines, is dated in the 13th day of the second month of the second season Pert, i.e., early in January, of the first year of Åspelta. It begins with the statement that the Nubian army was assembled by the Holy Mountain, whose god was Ṭeṭun, shortly after the death of the late king, which is expressed by the words "the hawk had arrived on his Serekh," i.e., the successor of Horus on the throne had been laid in his tomb, upon which his soul stood. It is interesting to note the mention of Ṭeṭun, the old indigenous god of the country, and the absence of the name of Åmen in this place. The army was assembled to keep the town in order during the election of a king, and to give effect to the wishes of the electors, in the event of there being any opposition. The electors were six men nominated by the Army, six men nominated by the Chancellor, six men nominated by the Keeper of the Archives, and six men nominated by the Royal Household, and they invited

the Army to go and elect a king who should be like a young, vigorous bull (?). To this invitation the Army replied that their king was among them if they could only recognize him. Only Rā knew who he was, and as Rā was in the Other World and not on earth he could not guide them in their choice. Rā decreed of old that the king of Nubia should always be his son, but the throne was empty, and there was no one to wear his crown, and because they did not know whom to elect all the soldiers were sad. Then, probably at the instigation of the priests of Åmen, it was suggested that they should consult Åmen-Rā, who was the representative of Rā, and that they should approach the god and do homage to him, and beseech him to give them a king who would honour the gods and continue their offerings; the Army declared this suggestion to be good, and straightway adopted it. Then the generals and the *smeru* officials went to the temple, where they found the priesthood assembled, and entreated them to ask Åmen-Rā to elect a king for them. And they all went into the presence of the god, and after purification ceremonies had been performed, the priests laid the petition of the Army before the god. After this the "royal brethren," i.e., the candidates eligible for election, were introduced into the presence of the god, but Åmen-Rā rejected them all. Subsequently Åspelta, the "royal brother," was brought by the priests before the god, and Åmen-Rā declared that he should be their king, and recited his

genealogy, which showed that by birth and descent he was fitted to be the Ruler of Nubia. Then the generals of the Army and the officials of the Royal Household cast themselves down on the ground and thanked Åmen-Rā for the king he had given to them. After this Åspelta went before the god and returned thanks for his election to the throne, and he besought him to give him lasting rule with the crown and the sceptre. In the answer made by Åmen-Rā the god stated that he gave to Åspelta his brother's crown and sceptre, which should overthrow all his enemies. Åspelta then made a second prayer in which he asked the god to prosper his reign, and to make him beloved of his people. These things the god promised to give him, and told him that he would have occasion to wish for nothing, as everything which he could possibly desire would be granted to him. Then the king went forth to the soldiers, who received him with shouts of joy, and the high officials expressed their great delight in their new king. Åspelta then established festivals in honour of Åmen-Rā, and gave large gifts to the priesthood.

IV.

The Stele of Queen Māṭisen, or Māṭisenen. Dedication of an Endowment by a Queen of Napata.

The text of this interesting document is cut in hieroglyphics upon a granite stele, which was set up in the temple of Åmen-Rā at Gebel Barkal, in the third year of the reign of Åspelta, to commemorate an endowment made by his queen Māṭisen. When and by whom it was found is not known, but it is tolerably certain that it formed one of the group which stood close to the great Stele of Piānkhi. It was acquired by Linant Bey, and then it passed into the possession of Prince Napoleon, and subsequently into the hands of E. de Rougé, after whose death it was given to the Louvre by Monsieur J. de Rougé. It now stands in Salle Henri IV. The text was first published and translated by Pierret in 1873,[1] and an English translation by the same Egyptologist appeared in 1876.[2] The text was republished with a German translation by Dr. Schäfer in 1895,[3] and a facsimile of the text, made from a tracing, was given with a summary of its contents by myself in 1907.[4]

The upper part of the stele is rounded, and on the

[1] *Études Égyptologiques*, tom. i., p. 96 ff., pl. 2. Paris, 1873.
[2] *Records of the Past*, Old Series, vol. iv., p. 89 f.
[3] *Äg. Zeit.*, 1895, p. 101 ff.; see also *Urkunden*, iii., 101 ff.
[4] *Egyptian Sûdân*, vol. ii., p. 66.

The Stele of Mâțisen,

obverse is sculptured the following scene:—Under a winged disk stands Åmen-Rā, man-headed, wearing the usual disk and plumes. Before him we see King Åspelta wearing a close-fitting cap with an uraeus in front of it, and a lappet falling behind his head and neck; the cap is surmounted by plumes. With both hands raised he makes an offering of Maāt (Truth), , to the god. Behind Åmen stand Mut, the "Eye of

Rā," and Khensu. Behind the king stand his mother the Queen of Kesh, Nenselsa,[1] his wife Māṭisen,[2] and his daughter Khebit.[3] Each of these ladies is pouring out a libation with her right hand, and is holding a sistrum in her left. Each wears a royal tiara and a

1 .

2 . 3 .

long loose garment which reaches to her ankles, and each has the steatopygous figure which is so much appreciated in some parts of the Sûdân.

The text sets forth that on the 24th day of the fourth month of the season Akhet (i.e., about November 9), of the third year of the reign of Åspelta, eleven high officers of state assembled in the temple of Åmen-Rā to take part in the ceremony connected with the presentation of an endowment of the temple which the Queen Māṭisen, the daughter of Queen (Nenselsa), or Nensarasa, and of king "Pharaoh (Åmen-tar)," purposed to offer to the god. The endowment consisted of a silver sistrum and a silver libation-bucket for the god, and the following ration for the priests: 15 loaves of bread daily, 15 vessels of beer monthly, and three oxen annually. On festival days three vessels of beer were to be added to the daily ration. This endowment was to be continued by her children and grandchildren for ever, and no deduction of any sort or kind was to be made from it. Those who maintained the endowment loyally would enjoy the blessing of Åmen-Rā, and those who did not would be slain by his sword, and their bodies would be burnt up by the goddess Sekhemet, and their posterity would die out. The witnesses to this Decree, whose names are duly enumerated, included the officials of the Royal Household, the Overseer of the Crown Domains, the Chief Stewards, the Overseer of the Granaries, and his scribe

and the Secretary-General, etc. The priests who accepted the endowment on behalf of the god were the second, third, and fourth priests of Åmen, the scribe of Åmen-Rā, seven ordinary priests, three temple officials, and the temple scribe. It will be noted that there is no mention of a high priest of Åmen-Rā, and so we may conclude that at Napata, as well as at Thebes, the office had been abolished.

V.

A Decree of Excommunication (?) by King Åspelta.

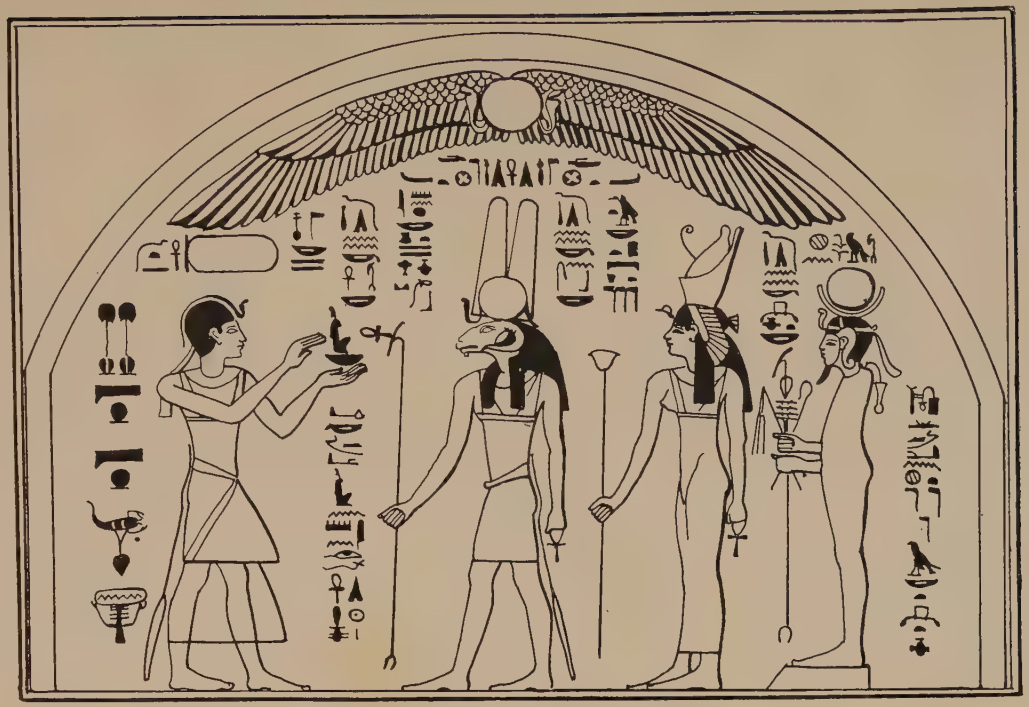
The text of this Decree is cut in hieroglyphics upon the obverse of a grey granite stele, 4 ft. 4 in. high and 2 ft. 3 in. wide, which was found with the Stele of Piānkhi at Gebel Barkal, and which is now preserved in the Egyptian Museum, Cairo, where it bears the number 693.[1] The first description of the contents of this very remarkable document was published by Mariette[2] in 1865. Professor Maspero published a transcript of the text in type, with a French translation, in 1871;[3] this translation was reprinted in 1898,[4] and an English rendering of it appeared in

[1] See Maspero, *Guide*, 1910 edition, p. 215.
[2] *Revue Arch.*, tom. ii., p. 174.
[3] *Revue Arch.*, N.S., tom. ii., p. 329 ff., 1871.
[4] *Bibl. Égyptologique*, tom. vii., p. 71.

1875.[1] A reprint of this also appeared in 1898.[2] Devéria's copy of the hieroglyphic text was issued by Professor Maspero in Mariette's great work[3] in 1889. A very careful transcript of the text[4] and a German translation[5] were published by Dr. Schäfer in 1908 and 1906 respectively.

The upper part of the stele is rounded, and on the obverse is sculptured the following scene:—Under a winged disk, with pendent uraei, called "Beḥuṭet, great god, giver of life," stands Åmen-Rā, ram-headed, the dweller in the Holy Mountain, wearing a disk encircled by an uraeus, and plumes. In his right hand he holds a sceptre, , from the head of which proceeds "life." Behind him are:—1. the goddess "Mut, lady of heaven, queen of the gods," wearing the vulture headdress and the double crown of the South and North; 2. Khensu, in mummied form, bearded, standing on *maāt*, with a full moon and a crescent moon on his head, with the lock symbolic of youth on the left side of his head, and with the amulet *menàt* hanging from the back of his neck. His hands project from his swathings in front of him, and hold in a group the symbols of "life," , "stability," , "serenity," , "rule," , and "dominion," . His titles are, "Scribe of Truth of the Great Company of the Gods,

[1] *Records of the Past*, Old Series, vol. iv., p. 95.
[2] *Bibl. Égyptologique*, p. 229.
[3] *Monuments Divers*, plate 10.
[4] *Urkunden*, iii., 108 ff.
[5] *Klio*, vol. vi., p. 287 ff.



Sculptured Scene from the Stele of Aspelta.

"lord of joy of heart." Facing the god stands a king, wearing the uraeus on his head and presenting to him an offering of Maāt, , in return for which Åmen says, "I give thee life and all serenity," Mut says, "I give thee all health," and Khensu-em-Uast (Khensu in Thebes) says, "I give thee all joy of heart." Behind the king are groups of symbols, which indicate that his reign shall endure for untold years, and that his existence as king shall be for ever. The king is called "beautiful god, the Lord of the Two Lands," but it is impossible to identify him from the stele because his name and face have been chiselled out by some political, or perhaps personal, opponent, whose object was to destroy his existence in the Other World. Moreover, as the Horus, Nebti, and Horus-of-gold names are not given in the text, they are not available for identification purposes as in the Stele of the Coronation. Long ago Mariette was inclined to assign this stele to the reign of the king who set up the Stele of the Coronation, and who, thanks to the Stele of Queen Māṭisen, was identified with certainty as Åspelta, and there is every reason to think his opinion was correct. The obliteration of the royal names in each stele was probably the work of one and the same man, and we may with tolerable certainty group together the Stele of Coronation, the Stele of the Excommunication, and the Stele of Queen Māṭisen, and assign all three to the last quarter of the seventh century B.C.

The first three lines of the inscription are filled with a list of the titles of the king who set up the stele. Then it is stated that in the second year of his accession to the throne of Ḳeb, the Earth-god, His Majesty went into the temple of Father Åmen in order to promulgate a decree which ordered the destruction of certain men who were called "TEM PESIU PER-ṬET KHAI" because they were hateful and abominable to the god Åmen. The Decree goes on to say that these men were guilty of such a terrible crime that the mere mention of it is an abomination to the god. The heinousness of it was heightened by the fact that these men belonged to the priesthood of Åmen, and had dared to conspire in his temple to commit the crime, and to do a thing which was contrary to the laws of Åmen. What they had conspired in their hearts to do was a wholly accursed thing, viz., they had determined to kill an innocent man. But Åmen knew their wickedness, and he contrived a means whereby they were made to confess their iniquity, and in uttering the confession they passed sentence of death upon themselves. Such was the accusation made against the malefactors by the king, and then the god inflicted punishment upon them; he slew them, making [them] to pass through the fire, ; in other words, they were burnt alive and offered up as a sacrifice to Åmen.

Finally, the Decree orders that any priest or ministrant who shall be guilty of any offence [of like nature]

in the temple in future shall be destroyed, that his feet shall not be allowed to tread the earth, and that none shall succeed him, i.e., all his posterity shall be blotted out; for the temple of Åmen shall be polluted neither by them nor by their sins. Who the "innocent man" mentioned by the king was we have no means of knowing, but we can hardly assume that he was an ordinary person, for the common law of the land might have been trusted to punish those who conspired against his life. It is possible that the king's piety was outraged when he heard that the priests of Åmen were participators in a conspiracy against the life of one of his subjects, and that this drove him to make a signal example of the wicked priests, so that all men might applaud his love of justice, but it is hardly probable. On the whole, when we consider the promulgation of the Decree by the king in person in the Temple of Åmen, and the setting up of an engraved granite stele among the public memorials of the deeds of the great kings of Nubia to commemorate it, it is difficult to think that the "innocent man" referred to was not the king himself, or some person very near the throne. The severity of the punishment—burning alive—also suggests that the "innocent man" was some one of great importance in the kingdom.

The Egyptian words quoted above, TEM PESIU PER ṬET KHAIU, or as they are written

offer considerable difficulty. Professor Maspero, the first translator of the Stele, has always taken the view that "Tem pesiu" and "Per ṭet khaiu" "ne forment "qu'un seul et même nom, un seul et même sobriquet "appliqué à une seule et même secte politique ou "religieuse," and he translates them, "Qu'on ne brûle "pas. Que l'acte de la main tue," or "Do not cook. "Let violence kill."[1] And he thinks that the men who bore this name were members of the priesthood of Åmen who were heretics, and who tried to replace the burnt offerings in the temple by bloody sacrifices, or in other words, that they followed a custom common among the peoples of many parts of the Sûdân of eating their meat raw. He further thinks that the practice of eating raw meat was wholly rejected by the Nubian clergy, and that in consequence the heretics were expelled from the temple, and then burnt alive, and the king promulgated the Decree in order to stamp out the heresy under penalty of death to future heretics and their heirs. There is no doubt that the words TEM PESIU PER ṬET KHAIU may be regarded as pure Egyptian, for *Tem* is a well-known negative particle, *pesiu* is derived from a well-known word "to cook," *per ṭet* may be associated with the meaning of "strength," or "violence," and *khaiu* is derived from a common root meaning to "slaughter." Besides this Professor Maspero's knowledge of Egyptology is so

[1] *Sur un Décret d'Excommunication* (*Bibl. Égypt.*, tom. vii. p. 71 ff.).

vast that everyone must hesitate long before refusing to accept his matured opinion on such matters.

On the other hand, the "Decree of Excommunication" is regarded in an entirely different light by Dr. Schäfer, who thinks its meaning is simple and quite clear.[1] He sees in it no mention of erroneous teaching, or sectarian opinions, or religious strife ending in blood. The reason for the "excommunication" is simply and solely the fact that an attempt to commit murder was made; the other motives suggested being quite unessential are not mentioned by the writer of the inscription; it is idle for us to put forward speculations on the subject, for such, after all, will always be vague. He thinks that if one compares his translation of the Decree with that of Professor Maspero he will wonder if they are made from the same inscription. Dr. Schäfer believes that his translation really represents the true meaning of the inscription, and that all that cannot be legitimately deduced from it are theorisings which are based upon the name of the people who were burnt alive, and are put forward without reference to the actual facts given in the Decree. Only by disregarding every orthographical, grammatical, syntactical and lexicographical consideration can Egyptian words be recognized in the name "Tem pesiu per ṭet Khaiu," and the meaning given to them by Professor Maspero be obtained. In short, the Egyptian characters

[1] See *Die sogenannte "Stèle de l'Excommunication" aus Napata*, in *Klio*, Bd. vi., p. 287 ff.

are nothing but the transcription of a native Nubian name, or names, of the family, or families, of the people who conspired together to kill a man, to which the scribe added Egyptian determinatives. What the name means Dr. Schäfer does not attempt to say, being content to leave the discovery of this to our successors. Finally, after a dissertation on the system followed by the scribes of writing Nubian names and words in hieroglyphics, he states that the Decree does contain a reference to disputes among the priests of Åmen, but that it has nothing to do with religious quarrels about dogmas, and that it makes no mention of any such thing. The incident described is not even specially characteristic of Nubia, for it might just as well have happened at Thebes.[1]

The arguments in favour of the Tem pesiu per ṭet khaiu being heretics and eaters of raw meat are well marshalled by Professor Maspero, and Dr. Schäfer states his case with careful moderation and learning. But when we see two such experts each holding

[1] Jedenfalls aber ist nun wohl klar, dass die von Maspero der Inschrift gegebene Deutung jeder Grundlage entbehrt, dass in dem Texte zwar von Streitigkeiten innerhalb der Priesterschaft des Amon, aber mit keinem Wort von religiösen und nungar dogmatischen Zwistigkeiten und Kämpfen die Rede ist. Die Inschrift enthält ein interessantes kulturgeschichtliches Bild, aber eigentlich nichts, was besonders für Nubien charakteristisch ist. Unter Veränderung der Namen könnte sie ebenso gut aus dem Tempel von Thebes stammen (p. 295).

views which are diametrically opposed, and proposing meanings which are so fundamentally different, it is impossible not to think that, after all, we know very little indeed about the Nubian Kingdom of Napata, and the manners and customs of its people.

VI.

The Annals of Heru-sa-Âtef.

The text containing the Annals of Ḥeru-sa-âtef is cut in hieroglyphics upon the obverse, reverse, and two sides of a grey granite stele of about 7 ft. high, 2 ft. 4 in. wide, and 13 in. thick, which was found with the Stele of Piānkhi at Gebel Barkal, and which is now in the Egyptian Museum in Cairo, where it bears the number 694.[1] The first account of the Stele was published by Mariette in 1865,[2] and a translation of the text in English was given by Professor Maspero in 1876.[3] Another translation was given by myself in 1907.[4] Devéria's copy of the text was issued by Professor Maspero in Mariette's great work,[5] and a very careful

[1] Maspero, *Guide*, 1910 edition, p. 215.
[2] *Revue Arch.*, 2e série, tom. xii., p. 176 ff.
[3] *Records of the Past*, Old Series, vol. vi., p. 85 ff.
[4] *Egyptian Sûdân*, vol. ii., p. 76 ff.
[5] *Monuments Divers*, plates 11–13.

copy made from paper squeezes was published by Dr. Schäfer in 1908.[1]

The Stele of Ḥeru-sa-âtef is the only known monument of the reign of this king, and all that we know of his deeds is derived from it. There are, unfortunately, in his Annals no data which enable us to state the year of his accession, but it is probable that he flourished in the first half of the sixth century B.C. The upper part of the Stele is rounded, and on the obverse is sculptured the following scene:—A winged disk, with two pendent uraei, one of which wears the Crown of the South and the other the Crown of the North; between these is a cartouche containing the king's nomen, Ḥeru-sa-âtef. Under the winged disk is twice engraved its title thus, "Beḥuṭet, great god, lord of heaven, giver of life." On the right is a figure of the king standing before the ram-headed Åmen-Rā of the Holy Mountain, giver of life, stability, and serenity. Before the god stands the king presenting to him a bead necklace, and a pectoral attached to a string or chain whereby this amulet was fastened to the neck. Behind the king stands the "royal mother, royal sister, the Queen of Kesh, Thesem-nefer," rattling a sistrum with her right hand, and pouring out a libation with her left. On the left stands the man-headed Åmen-Rā of Thebes, and to him the king also offers a bead necklace and a pectoral; the king is accompanied by another wife called Behtâlis (?), who also rattles a

[1] *Urkunden*, iii., p. 113 ff.

Sculptured Scene from the Stele of Ḥeru-sa-âtef.

sistrum and pours out a libation. Between the figures of the two Åmen-Rās is a line of hieroglyphics, which contains the promise of the gods to the king, and reads, "I give unto thee life and all serenity, all stability, "all health, and all joy of heart. I give unto thee the "years of Eternity and Everlastingness."

The Stele is dated on the thirteenth day of the second month of the second season Pert (i.e., one of the last days of December) of the thirty-third year of Ḥeru-sa-åtef. The fact that this king reigned so long is important historically, for it proves that in Nubia the government was stable. Ḥeru-sa-åtef was clearly a strong king, and his numerous expeditions gave frequent employment to his soldiers, and the spoil which he brought back and shared with Åmen-Rā made the priesthood content. In respect of his expeditions and the area of his conquests, he deserves to be styled the Thothmes III. of the Sûdân. After enumerating the king's names and titles the text describes a dream, or vision, of Ḥeru-sa-åtef, in which Åmen-Rā appeared to him and gave him the Land of the Blacks (Neḥset), i.e., the Sûdân. The priests of Åmen at Napata had at last realized that it was hopeless to direct the attention of their kings to Egypt, in which at that time Amasis probably reigned, but they saw that a strong and energetic king might take much spoil from the regions of the Blue and White Niles, and caused Åmen-Rā to indicate this to the king in a dream. During this vision Åmen-Rā bound the crown

upon the king's head, and, having encouraged him with kindly looks, told him to go to his temple in Napata. When Ḥeru-sa-âtef awoke he asked an old man what these things meant, and the sage advised him to build his building quickly and strongly. He therefore departed to Napata, and went into the temple of Âmen-Rā and asked the god for the Land of Neḥset. The reply of Âmen-Rā was favourable, and he promised to give him the land, and the Four Quarters of the Earth, and abundant water and rain, and to destroy the weapons of any and every enemy who should venture to attack him. Whilst the king was still standing in the sanctuary the god seems to have given him certain things, but the meaning of the text here is obscure.

Having obtained the sovereignty of Nubia from Âmen-Rā of Napata, Ḥeru-sa-âtef set out to visit the shrines of the gods of the chief provinces of the country to obtain their blessings and the support of their priesthoods. Thus he went to the shrine of Âmen-Rā of Ḳem-Âten (Sadênga?), and the shrine of Âmen-Rā of Per-nebes, and the shrine of Bast of Tart; in each place he told the god what Âmen of Napata had said to him, and offered up sacrifices and worship. Then the priests seem to have brought to his notice the temple of Âmen of Tar (?) of the South, which was in course of building, and which, probably through lack of funds, could not be finished. He promptly took the work in hand, and the building and decoration of the temple were completed five months later. Returning

to Napata he found that the temple of the Apts was in need of money, and he gave to the treasury 40 *ṭeben*[1] of gold for the work, i.e., 5120 *peḳ*,[2] or about £420 in modern money. Then he was told that the house for sick, perhaps the hospital for the priests and their families, was without funds, and that the building itself was in a ruined state, and he at once sent to the district of Arkaret for acacia wood to rebuild it. The text is not very clear here, but it is certain that he spent another £420 (40 *ṭeben*) in connection with the building. It is unlikely that he used all this money in decorating it, therefore £420 must represent the cost of bringing the timber from Arkaret. The site of this region is not known, but the acacia wood was probably from some place south of the modern town of Khartûm. Ḥeru-sa-âtef also provided the institution with ready money by a gift of £210 (20 *ṭeben*) to its treasury.

The next 25 lines of the text are occupied by a list of the objects which Ḥeru-sa-âtef gave to the temple of Âmen of Napata. These consisted of neck rings of gold for the god, figures of Âmen-Rā, and other gods in gold, pectorals, beads, a large quantity of silver, 9 vessels in silver, lamps, lamp-stands, etc., in all 32 vessels in bronze. Besides these he gave large quantities of myrrh, honey, and incense.

Ḥeru-sa-âtef then directed his energies and money to the restoration of the House of a Thousand Years

[1] A weight supposed to equal 90·959 grammes.

[2] The *peḳ* = $\frac{1}{128}$th of a *ṭeben*, and the *qet* = $\frac{1}{10}$th of a *ṭeben*.

which had fallen into ruins. He rebuilt it and added to it a *rakûbah*, or verandah with pillars, and a byre for the cattle 154 cubits (?) in length, and he rebuilt a small edifice in connection with the temple. On another occasion he gave to the god 500 oxen, a daily ration of 2 huge bowls of milk, ten servants (?), and 100 slaves, 50 male and 50 female. All these gifts were made by the king during the first year of his reign, and then having paid the god Åmen and his priests handsomely for electing him king, and propitiated all the great provincial gods in his country, he was able to turn his attention to raiding expeditions and fighting.

In his first campaign, which took place in the second year of his reign, he attacked the people of Rehrehsa, who probably lived in the Eastern Desert. They were nomad tribes who lived by pillaging caravans, for though Ḥeru-sa-åtef slew large numbers of them he brought back no spoil worthy of mention. His second campaign took place in the third year of his reign, and was directed against the people of Meṭeṭ; of these also he slew many, but brought back no spoil of importance. He started on both these campaigns in the winter, and they seem to have been undertaken merely for clearing the deserts of robbers, and as preliminary trials for his men. In his third campaign, which took place in the fifth year of his reign, he sent his bowmen and horsemen against Meṭeṭ, and they fought a battle against the people of this land at Neruart, and defeated them, and slew large numbers of them and also a local

Prince. In the sixth year of his reign his fourth campaign took place, and his objective was again the country of Meṭeṭ. On this occasion he not only defeated the army of Meṭeṭ and slew large numbers of them, but he laid waste the towns, and captured cattle of all kinds, slaves, and gold. The king of Meṭeṭ tendered to him his submission with the words, "Thou art my god, I am thy servant. I am a woman." And he sent to Ḥeru-sa-âtef by the hands of a messenger the *âṭennut*, i.e., some object which cannot at present be identified. When the Nubian king returned to Napata he went to the temple of Âmen, and shared with him the cattle which he had captured.

After an interval of five years he set out on his fifth campaign, in the eleventh year of his reign, and he directed his attack against the town, or district, of Āqnat, which the Nubian general Ḳasau besieged. The two rebel chiefs called Barḳa and Samensa escaped to Sunt, i.e., Elephantine, the modern Aswân, but Ḳasau pursued and slew them, and destroyed a large number of their people. Five years later, in the sixteenth year of his reign, Ḥeru-sa-âtef set out on his sixth campaign. He attacked Mekhetḥi (?) with success, and his bowmen killed large numbers of its people, and carried off as spoil the finest of their cattle. In the eighteenth year of his reign Kherua (?), the Prince of Baruat (Meroë), set out to attack him with a host of the nomad tribes of the country of Rehrehsat. Ḥeru-sa-âtef marched out to meet him, and in the fight which

followed the meeting of the Nubian and Meroïtic forces Kherua was defeated with great slaughter and his forces scattered, and he himself took advantage of the darkness of the night to escape. This was Ḥeru-sa-âtef's seventh campaign. Five years later, in the twenty-third year of his reign, he set out on his eighth campaign, which was directed against another chief called Âruâ, who had collected a large army from among the tribes of Rehrehsa, and had established himself in Meroë. A fierce fight took place, but the Nubians defeated the allied tribes from the Eastern Desert, and slew large numbers of them. Âruâ seems to have been assisted by a local chief called Shaikara (?), who brought a force with him, but then, as on previous occasions, the strong arms of Âmen broke the power of the enemy, and the Nubian bowmen and horsemen were completely victorious.

Ten years later Ḥeru-sa-âtef set out, in the thirty-third year of his reign, on his ninth and last campaign. His horsemen were accompanied by fifty scouts (?), and they fell upon the men of Mekhetḥi (?) at Teqt, and apparently massacred the whole force, for "not one of them was left alive, not one of them escaped, and not one of them used his feet again;" and the Nubians captured the officers. With this expedition the campaigns of Ḥeru-sa-âtef came to an end, at least we have no record of others, and by this time the king must have been getting old. It is, unfortunately, impossible to identify the towns and countries which

were attacked by Ḥeru-sa-âtef, for very few of their names are mentioned in other inscriptions, but it is not difficult to indicate the regions to which his armies marched and in which his enemies lived. His boldest foes were probably the tribes of the Eastern Desert, who were in later times known as the Blemmyes, and the tribes who owed allegiance to the Prince, or Governor, of Meroë. Farther to the south-east were the peoples on the frontier of Ethiopia and the warlike tribes east and south of Sennaar. On the west were the nomad tribes of the Bayûda Desert, and farther south the great cattle-rearing peoples who are represented to-day by the Baḳḳârah tribes. The robbery of caravans was then, as in recent years, the cause of every war, and no kingdom ever lasted for many years in Nubia which was not ruled by an active warlike king. The raids made by Aḥmad the Mahdî and the Khalîfah 'Abd-Allah in the various parts of the Egyptian Sûdân are the exact equivalents of the raids and military expeditions of Ḥeru-sa-âtef. And if we could identify the places mentioned in the Annals of this king, we should probably find that their inhabitants were the far-back ancestors of the people who rebelled against Muḥammad 'Alî and Isma'îl Pâshâ.

The rest of the inscription of Ḥeru-sa-âtef is occupied by an account of his building operations. He rebuilt a temple of Ptaḥ, and a "god-house of gold of the life," with chambers and a colonnade. He rebuilt the palace of Napata and the enclosing wall, and a building which

was square, each side being 50 cubits long. For Ámen he planted six groves of date-palms and six vineyards, and gave to him six very fine groves of date-palms in Meroë, and gave to him daily 115 measures of wheat and 38 measures of barley, in all 153 measures of grain. Finally he established festivals to the gods in the chief towns of Nubia, viz., Meroë, Mertet, Ḳarrt, Sehreset, Surḳat, Kartet, Meshat, Artnait, Napata, Nehanat, Per-Ḳemt, and Per-Nebes.

VII.

The Annals of Nástasen.

The text of the Annals of Nástasen is cut in hieroglyphics upon a massive stele of greenish grey granite about 5 ft. 3 in. high and 4 ft. 2 in. wide, which is preserved in the Egyptian Section of the Royal Museum at Berlin, where it bears the number 2268.[1] It arrived in the Museum in 1871, but its existence was known to Lepsius about sixteen years earlier, for he published a copy of the text cut upon it, from a paper squeeze which was made before the Stele was properly cleaned, in the Vth Abtheilung of his splendid work *Denkmäler aus*

[1] *Ausführliches Verzeichniss*, p. 402.

Ägypten und Äthiopen. When Lepsius first heard of the Stele it was lying at Dongola, and for this reason it was known as the "Stele of Dongola," and it was generally assumed that it had been set up at Old Dongola, a town on the east bank of the Nile about 351 miles from Wâdî Ḥalfah. As a matter of fact the Dongola referred to is New Dongola, commonly known as Al-Urdî, "the Camp," which lies on the west bank of the Nile, ninety miles to the north of Old Dongola. The Stele was discovered by Graf Wilhelm von Schlieffen in the spring of 1853, who at the request of Lepsius made a paper squeeze of the inscription on one side of it. When this gentleman returned to Cairo in the following winter he asked 'Abbâs Pâshâ to give him the stone for the Berlin Museum, and the Viceroy did so. The difficulty of bringing such a large, heavy stele to Cairo was considerable, and the boat-owners of Dongola declared with one voice that its transport was impossible. In 1869 the Crown Prince Friedrich Wilhelm interested himself personally in the matter, and two years later the Stele arrived in Berlin. Count von Schlieffen states expressly that he only made a squeeze of one side, but as Lepsius published the text of both sides before 1859 it is clear that someone must have made for him a squeeze of the other side.

Had the Stele been lying at New Dongola when Lepsius was there he would certainly have seen it, and had he seen it he would have mentioned such an important object in his "Letters"; but he found no antiquities at

New Dongola, and he describes none. In fact, it is certain that during the whole time he was in the Sûdân between 1842 and 1845 he never saw the Stele at all. Therefore it is tolerably clear that it must have been brought to New Dongola between 1845 and 1853, the year in which Count von Schlieffen first saw it. Whence then did it come? In answering this question only one place can be named, i.e., Gebel Barkal. When Lepsius was there he made no excavations, and only had drawings made of the texts which were easily accessible. After his departure, it seems,[1] the natives made excavations in the temple of Gebel Barkal, and discovered the Stele and several other large engraved stones of the same kind. Guided by some motive which it is impossible to fathom, they selected this Stele, carried it to the river, and decided to take it to Egypt, where they either intended to claim payment for it from the Government, or to sell it to some dealer. To get a stele of this size on a modern Nubian boat is no easy matter, as they found, no doubt, and had they tried to sail down the Cataracts with it their difficulties would have been very serious. When they reached New Dongola either they were afraid to risk their boat in the Cataracts by going farther, or the Stele was seized by the local Government official; in any case, they landed it there, and there it remained till 1869. It must have been very carefully hidden, but even so it is strange that Mariette did not get possession of it, for

[1] Schäfer, *Die Äthiopische Königsinschrift*, p. 5.

a

Sculptured Scene from the Stele of Nâstasen.

after the publication of the text the "Stele of Dongola" must have been familiar to every Egyptologist.

The first translation of the text of the Annals of Nâstasen was published by Professor Maspero in 1876,[1] and of this reprints appeared in 1878[2] and in 1898.[3] A German translation by Brugsch was published in 1877,[4] and I gave a rendering of it in 1907.[5] A most complete monograph on the Stele was published in 1901 by Dr. Schäfer, who gave a photograph of the Stele and a correct text, a translation with a valuable commentary, and a series of careful notes.[6] To this scholar belongs the credit of having proved that Nâstasen was a king of Nubia in the latter half of the sixth century B.C., and that he was reigning when Cambyses made his ill-fated expedition into the Sûdân. He is also the first to have identified the name of Cambyses in the hieroglyphics , K–M–B–S–U–Ṭ–N–T (?).

The upper part of the Stele of Nâstasen is rounded, and on the obverse is sculptured a scene which closely resembles that on the Stele of Ḥeru-sa-âtef. It may be thus described:—Above is the winged disk "Ḥeru-Beḥuṭet, great god, lord of life, giver of life," with pendent uraei of the South and North, between which

[1] *Trans. Soc. Bibl. Arch.*, vol. iv., p. 203 ff.

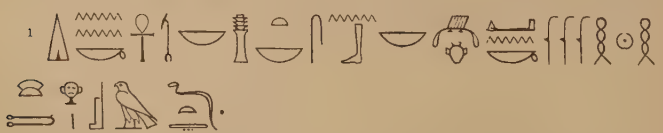
[2] *Records of the Past*, Old Series, vol. x., p. 55 ff.

[3] *Bibl. Égypt.*, tom. vii., p. 239 ff.

[4] *Äg. Zeit.*, 1877, p. 23 ff. [5] *Egyptian Sûdân*, vol. ii., p. 97 ff.

[6] *Die Äthiopische Königsinschrift des Berliner Museums. Regierungsbericht des Königs Nastesen des Gegners des Kambyses*, Leipzig, 1901.

is a cartouche containing the king's name, Nâstasen. On the right of two columns of hieroglyphics stands Âmen of Napata, ram-headed, who says, "I give thee "life, and all serenity, and all stability, and all health, "and all joy of heart. I give thee years of eternity "[wherein] to appear on the throne of Horus for ever."[1] Before the god stands the king presenting to him a necklace and a pectoral, and saying, "I present thee ". . . . *ṭeben* of gold in the first month of the season "Shemu. To be said four times."[2] Behind the king is the "royal daughter, the royal wife, the Queen of "Egypt, Sekhmekh,"[3] rattling a sistrum and pouring out a libation. Following the cartouche of the queen come a number of signs which are untranslatable. The queen wears a headdress with plumes and a lappet which falls behind her head over her neck, and a long garment reaching to her ankles. To the left of the two columns of hieroglyphics stands Âmen of Thebes, man-headed, and he says to the king, who is offering to him a necklace and a pectoral, "I give unto thee all "countries and deserts, and the Nine Nations of the

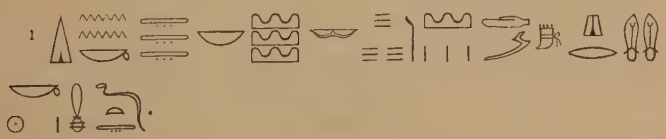
1  .

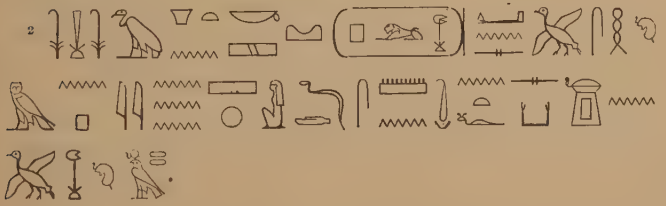
2 .

3 .

"Bow tied together under thy feet like Rā for ever."[1] Behind the king stands "the royal sister, the royal "mother, the Queen of Kesh, Pelkha (or, Perkha). To "her is given the Crown in Napata, because her father "hath stablished the shrine of the diadem of Ḥeru-"khuti (Harmakhis)."[2] The queen is rattling a sistrum and pouring out a libation.

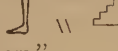
The Stele is dated on the ninth day of the first month of the season Pert (i.e., about November 24), of the eighth year of the reign of King Nâstasen. In the first few lines we find a long string of titles in which the king is likened to an enraged bull and a savage lion, and is compared with Thoth for wisdom, with Ptaḥ as an architect, and with Âmen as the provider of food for man; finally, he is said to be the son of Isis and Rā and Âmen. Nâstasen then as King of the South and North calls upon everyone to take note what he is going to say, and he proceeds to narrate the chief facts of his life and to describe his military

1 

2 

expeditions. According to this narrative, when he was a good boy in Meroë, Åmen of Napata called to him and bade him come thither. He invited all the kinsfolk of the king to go with him, but they refused, telling him that he was the favourite of Åmen-Rā. He therefore set out by himself early one morning and soon arrived at Åstersat, where there was probably a ford or a ferry-boat, and where he passed the night. Whether the town is on the east or west bank of the Nile it is impossible to say, but, as Dr. Schäfer remarks, he must have come to the place before he began his journey across the desert to Napata. He set out on his journey the next day, and crossed the desert to the town of Taqat, which was on the Nile at no great distance from Napata. He would probably travel on a part of the old road which ran from the Nile at a point opposite to the modern village of Bakrawîr, to some village near between Napata and the site of the modern village of Kasingar. Nåstasen mentions that Taqat was the birthplace of king P-ānkh-årer, of whom we know nothing.

When he arrived at Taqat all the people came to him and told him that Åmen of Napata had laid the sovereignty of Napata at his feet, and he sent them on to the temple of Åmen. He then went to the river and sailed over to the other side, and mounted a big horse and rode to the temple, where he found the priests and nobles ready to receive him. Passing from the front of the temple he entered into the hall, and

having duly performed all the ceremonies prescribed, went on to the Golden Åpt, i.e., the "Gold House" or sanctuary, and told the god all that was in his heart. Strabo mentions[1] the place of the golden shrine of Meroë, *ὅπου ὁ χρυσοῦς νεώς ἐστι*, and the object itself must have been a wooden shrine heavily plated with gold. Åmen was gracious, and forthwith gave Nåstasen the sovereignty of Ta-sti (Nubia), the crown of king Ḥeru-sa-åtef, and the might of king P-ānkh-årer. Nåstasen then caused a great festival to be celebrated in honour of Åmen on the last day of the third month of the season Akhet (probably in November), and the god himself appeared in the festal procession. At this festival Åmen gave Nåstasen the kingship of Nubia, Alut, or Alwah, the capital of which lay on the Blue Nile, about ten miles above Kharṭûm, the Nine Nations of the Bow, the lands on both sides of the river, and the Four Quarters of the Earth. Nåstasen danced with joy, and gave thanks to Åmen, and all the people, rich and poor, rejoiced greatly. He then went to the place of sacrifice, took two oxen and slew them, and ascended the Golden Throne,  , in the House of Gold "in the shade that day."

Åmen of Napata being satisfied, it was now necessary for Nåstasen to go and pay worship to the other Åmen-gods of Nubia. He therefore went to the town of Per-ḳem-Åten (near Suwârda or Sadênga ?) and celebrated

[1] Book xvii. 2, 3.

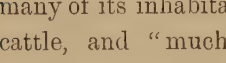
a festival in honour of the Åmen who was worshipped there, and held converse with the god, who acknowledged his kingship, and repeated the words of Åmen of Napata, and gave him a mighty bow. After this interview Nåstasen ascended the Golden Throne and took his seat thereon. He then went to Per-nebes, the *Πνουψ* of Ptolemy, and made a festival in honour of the Åmen of that town. The god appeared and conversed with him, and acknowledged his kingship, and gave him some instrument of war, perhaps a shield.

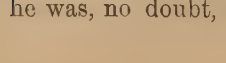
After these things Nåstasen returned to Napata, and made a great festival in honour of Åmen. The god came forth from the temple, and Nåstasen reported to him all that had taken place between him and Åmen of Per-ḳem-Åten and Åmen of Per-nebes and the other gods. Then, having danced before the god, he went to the place of sacrifice and took two oxen and slew them. He descended into the "Tchaut Chamber," where he lay for four days and four nights, and when he came up out of it again he slew two more oxen. Concerning this Chamber and the signification of the king's stay in it, we know nothing. After the second sacrifice of oxen Nåstasen went into the temple, and seated himself once more on the throne in the House of Gold. A few days after this he went to the town of Tart to do homage to the goddess Bast, "his good mother." Bast received him graciously and promised to give him life and an old age, and she clasped him to her left breast, and gave him her strong club, or staff. The town of Tart

must have been situated somewhere in the Fourth Cataract, for it only took the king five days to go and return. Pliny mentions, as Dr. Schäfer has pointed out (Book vi., Chapter 35), that a golden cat was worshipped at Rhadata, a town on the "Arabian side" of Ethiopia, but where this town was cannot be said. When Nâstasen returned to Napata he celebrated another feast in honour of Âmen. At this point in the inscription come two lists of gifts which the king made to Âmen, and they include four gardens and 36 men to keep them, a figure of Âmen of Per-Ḳem-Âten and two figures of Horus in gold, silver and copper vessels honey, spices, myrrh, oxen, cows, calves, sheep, etc.

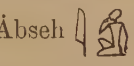
In line 39 begins the account of the invasion of Cambyses. Nâstasen sent his soldiers from Tchart, a town whose position is unknown, and they fell upon Cambyses and slew large numbers of the invaders, and captured all his stores and boats and arms, and utterly routed him, and drove him from Kartept (?) to Tarutipeht. The people of Tarumen appear to have assisted him, for he gave them twelve bulls, which he caused to be brought down from Napata. On his birthday, which came soon afterwards, he gave six bulls to the town of Saksaktit, and on the anniversary of his coronation he gave to Âmen a share in the crops taken between Kartept (?) and Tarreqet, 300 oxen, 300 cows, goats, etc., and 200 men, and subsequently a further gift of 110 men and women. The remainder of the inscription contains a brief account of the expeditions

which Nâstasen undertook in various parts of the Egyptian Sûdân, which may be thus summarized:—

The first expedition was against the people of the town, or district, of Mekhenteqnent, which was probably situated to the south of Napata, perhaps on the Island of Meroë itself. Nâstasen captured the city and its prince Aihka  , slaughtered a great many of its inhabitants, and obtained rich spoil, women, cattle, and "much gold." His booty consisted of 209,659 cattle, 505,349 sheep, goats, etc., 2,236 women, and 322 *âqit*, or figures of gold. Nâstasen says, in concluding his account of the fight, "I left to the worms (?) everything which the land supplied for food," i.e., there was no population left to consume it, for he had massacred every man. As a thank-offering he dedicated a lamp and twelve gold figures to Âmen of Katartit, two lamp-stands in Uast, twelve pectorals in Katartit, and he opened the "House of the Bull of Gold," in which Âmen of Napata was worshipped under the form of a bull.

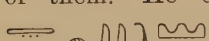
The second expedition was against the people of Rebher and Akarkhar, whom Nâstasen defeated with great slaughter. He captured their prince Rebhten  , and so much gold that it was impossible to count it, and 203,216 oxen, 603,107 sheep and goats, all the women, and all the food-stuffs in the country. The Prince he gave to Âmen of Napata, and he was, no doubt, offered up to the god as a sacrifice.

To have allowed him to live was impossible. The large quantity of gold which Nâstasen obtained on this occasion shows that Rebher and Akarkhar must have been situated on the Blue Nile, probably to the south-east of the town of Sennaar. Large quantities of gold are to this day obtained from "pockets" in the hills, and much gold-dust is washed out of the mud in the beds of the streams.

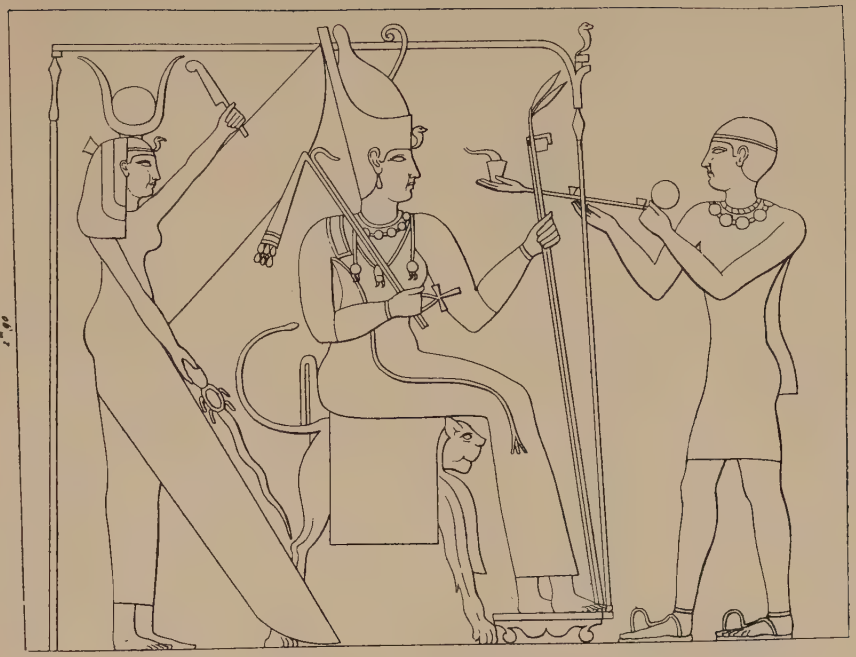
The third expedition was against the people of Arreset, whom Nâstasen defeated with great slaughter. He captured Âbseh  , Prince of the town of Mashat, and all the women, and 22,120 oxen, 55,200 sheep and goats, and 1,212 *ṭeben* of gold, i.e., about £12,726. The Prince he gave to Âmen of Napata, and, apparently, a certain amount of his personal possessions.

As a result of his fourth expedition, which was against the people of Mekhsherkhert, Nâstasen captured all the women and food-stuffs, 203,146 oxen, and 33,050 sheep and goats. The name of the Prince of the district is not given. Of the spoil of this expedition Âmen received nothing, for the king tells us that he kept it all for himself.

On the fifth expedition Nâstasen fought against the people of Mihka, whose soldiers met his host and, apparently, tendered their submission by a sycamore tree of the town of Sarsart, but the text goes on to say that he fought with them, and massacred large numbers

of them. He captured a Prince called Tamkhit,  , all the women and all the food-stuffs, 2,000 *ṭeben* of gold (about £21,000), 35,330 oxen, and 55,526 sheep, goats, etc.

Nâstasen concludes his inscription with the mention of two of his acts of piety. A company of men from the country of Meṭi, which was probably situated to the east of the Nile, made a raid on the town of Per-Ḳem-Âten and carried off from the temple of Âmen many valuable things which had been dedicated to the god by King Âspelta. The help of Nâstasen was invoked to punish the raiders, but they seem to have got away, for the property was not recovered. Not wishing that the temple of Âmen should remain stripped of its property, Nâstasen devoted some of his own treasure to the replacing of the objects which had been stolen. He says, "Âmen of Napata gave me the "treasure, and I give it back to Âmen of Per-Ḳem-"Âten." A somewhat similar incident took place in the town of Tart, or Thert, which as we have already seen contained a sanctuary of the goddess Bast. King Âspelta dedicated certain objects to her temple towards the close of the seventh century B.C., and they had remained there in safety until the time of Nâstasen, i.e., rather more than one hundred years later. In his reign, however, a body of raiders from the country of Metit got into the temple of Bast, and carried off some of the things which Âspelta had dedicated to the



A Sûdânî prince offering incense to his father.
From a bas-relief in a chapel of a Meroïtic Pyramid.

goddess. Apparently, as in the former case, the raiders escaped, and the objects stolen were not recovered. They were, however, replaced by Nâstasen, who paid for the new objects out of his private treasury. In return for the gift Bast sent some object which carried with it the blessing and protection of the goddess. The inscription concludes with a pious reflection by Nâstasen, in which he refers to the immutability of the word of Âmen and the absolute dependence of men upon it for their sustenance.

The amount of spoil which Nâstasen poured into Napata in less than eight years as the result of his five great military raids was enormous, and the priests of Âmen and their god and his people must have been well satisfied. If we add together the figures which he gives we have 673,471 bulls and oxen, 1,252,232 sheep, goats, etc., 2,236 women, 322 gold figures, or perhaps cakes of gold, and 3,212 *ṭeben* of gold, i.e., about £33,726, to say nothing of the gold which was too much to count, and the uncounted women, and the food-stuffs and stores. Nâstasen's idea of war was simple: massacre the men, carry off all the women, cattle, gold, and food, and leave the land wholly waste, and let the caterpillars eat whatever happens to spring up. His rule, however, cannot have been very firmly established, since marauders from the Eastern Desert were able to rob the temples of Âmen and Bast, and get away with their plunder. The priests of these gods demanded the restoration of the stolen property, and

protection for the future, which he ought to have been able to provide. To avoid the forfeiture of their good will and support he replaced the objects stolen by new ones, and so concealed from the people generally the inefficiency of his rule.

EGYPTIAN LITERATURE.

THE CONQUEST OF EGYPT BY THE NUBIAN KING P-ĀNKHI-MERI-ÂMEN.

1.

1. The first day of the first month of the season Akhet,[1] of the twenty-first year of the reign of the Majesty of the King of the South and North, (P-ānkhi-meri-Âmen), who liveth for ever.

The decree which the Majesty spake:—

Hearken to [the account] of what I have done beyond [my] ancestors. I am a king of the South, the emanation of the god, the living conception of Tem,[2]

[1] Akhet was the first season of the Egyptian year. The first month of it was the equivalent of the latter part of our July and more than a half of August.

[2] An ancient solar god, who, according to a tradition as old as the VIth Dynasty, produced the forms of the gods Shu and Tefnut from his own body; he embraced them, and life entered them. He was the self-produced creator of the world, and the sun and moon, and men and animals.

[who] on coming forth from the womb was decreed a Governor whom those who were of a higher princely rank should fear. [His father knew and]

2. his mother understood that he was to be a Governor[1] [when he was] in the egg, the beneficent god, the beloved of the gods, the son of Rā, the work of his hands, (Ȧmen-meri-P-ānkhi).

One came and said unto His Majesty, "The Prince of "the West, the great Ḥā Prince in Neter,[2] Tafnekhth, "in the nome of . . . . . ., [and] in the nome of Ka-"ḥeseb,[3] [and] in Ḥāp,[4] [and] in . . . . . .,

"**3**. [and] in Ān,[5] [and] in Per-nub,[6] and in the nome

[1] I.e., the Ḥeq, or Governor of all Egypt.

[2] The position of Neter is unknown, but it lay to the north of Heliopolis, probably at no great distance from it.

[3] A town sometimes identified with Xoïs.

[4] A city called after the Nile, Ḥep, or Ḥāp, the position of which is unknown.

[5] A town in the Western Delta, probably near Lake Mareotis.

[6] A town in the Western Delta, probably near Ān.

"of White Wall.[1] He hath taken possession of the "whole of the West Country, from the lands of the "swamps to the [Fortress of] Thet-Taui,[2] [he] hath "sailed up the river with a very large number of "soldiers, all the lands on both sides of the river have "joined themselves to him, and the Ḥā princes, and the "Governors of the cities and towns which have temples in "them, are like dogs as they keep near his feet.[3] None "of the fortified cities hath shut its gates [against him] in

"**4.** the Nomes of the South. The city of Mer-Tem,[4] "the city of Per-(Rā-sekhem-kheper),[5] the city of

[1] The nome of Memphis.

[2] An ancient fortress a few miles to the south of Memphis.

[3] "Dogs which guard his feet."

[4] The site is unknown, but the words suggest an identification with Mêdûm, which lay to the south of Thet-Taui.

[5] A town called after Osorkon I., whose prenomen is ( ); its site is unknown, but it must have lain to the south of the places previously mentioned.

"Neter-Ḥet-Sebek,[1] the city of Per-Mātchet,[2] the city "of Thekansh,[3] and every town of the West Country "have unbolted the gates by reason of their fear of "him. And having turned to the Nomes of the East "Country they also opened [their gates] to him even "as did those [of the West Country], Ḥet-Bennu,[4] "Taiutchait,[5] Ḥet-suten,[6] Per-neb-tep-ȧḥ.[7] Verily

"**5**. Suten-ḥenen is beleaguered, and he hath made "himself like [a serpent] with the tail in the mouth "(i.e., he hath completely surrounded it). Those who

[1] The "god-house of Sebek," i.e., Crocodilopolis in the Fayyûm.

[2] Oxyrhynchus, the ⲡⲉⲙϫⲉ of the Copts.

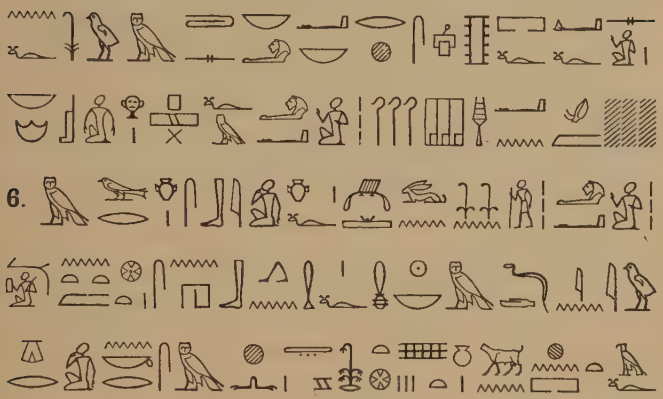
[3] A town of the Oxyrhynchite nome, the ⲧⲁⲕⲓⲛⲁϣ of the Copts.

[4] The house of the Bennu bird, or phoenix; this house was the capital of the XVIIIth nome of Upper Egypt.

[5] The site is unknown. It may perhaps be identified with ⲧⲱⲛⲓ, a town in the province of Minyah (see Amélineau, *Géog.*, p. 517).

[6] The site is unknown, but it lay, probably, near the two preceding towns.

[7] I.e., Aphroditopolis, the capital of the XXIInd nome of Upper Egypt.



"would come out he will not allow to come out, and "those who would go in he will not allow to go in, "by reason of the fighting which taketh place every "day. He hath thrown his soldiers round about it "everywhere, every Ḥā prince knoweth well his [section "of the] wall, and as concerning the Ḥā Princes and "the Governors of the Temple-cities, every man sitteth "down upon his [own] division (or district)."

And [His Majesty] hearkened [to the words of this report]

6. with greatness (i.e., boldness) of heart, [he] smiled, [and] his heart was glad.

And the Princes, and the Ḥā Princes, and the generals of the army who were in their cities sent messages to His Majesty every day, saying, "Wilt thou "remain silent and ignore the Land of the South and "the Nomes of the kingdom [whilst] Tafnekhth carrieth

"[all] before him, and findeth no man to oppose his "might? (Nemareth) . . . . . .

"7. the Ḥā prince of Ḥet-urt[1] hath thrown down "the fortifications of the city of Neferus,[2] and hath "himself laid waste his own city, being afraid lest he "would capture it from him, [and hath departed] to "invest another city; verily he hath departed to "become a guardian of his feet,[3] he hath forsaken the "water[4] of His Majesty,[5] and he standeth with him "like one of his [own men in]

[1] I.e., Herakleopolis, a large city in the same nome. The reading is perhaps Ḥenensu, which became the חֲנֵס of the Bible, the ϩⲛⲏⲥ of the Copts, and the *Ahnâs* اهناس of the Arabs.

[2] Identified by de Rougé as a town of the XVIth nome of Upper Egypt.

[3] He follows him like a dog.

[4] I.e., fealty, service.

[5] I.e., Piānkhi.

8.

9.

"**8**. the nome of Oxyrhynchus, and he giveth to "him[1] tribute, according to the dictates of his heart, of "everything which he hath found."

And His Majesty sent a message to the Ḥā Princes and Generals of the army who were over Egypt,[2] the Captain Puarma and the Captain Lās (?)-mer-sekni, and every Captain of His Majesty who was over Egypt, [saying], "Bring the troops together quickly, set the "men in battle array, surround [the city] . . .,

"**9**. seize its people, and its cattle, and its boats on "the river, prevent the husbandmen from going out to "the fields, prevent the ploughers from ploughing the "land, beleaguer closely the country in front of the

[1] I.e., to Tafnekhth.

[2] This appears to show that the Nubian king kept bodies of soldiers in Egypt.

"nome of Un (Hermopolis) and fight against it every "day." And thus did they.

And His Majesty made soldiers to march into Egypt, and he gave them very strict orders, saying, "Ye shall "not [hesitate]

"**10**. by night, in the manner of men who play a "game (or, take pleasure), but fight ye as soon as [ye] "see that he hath set in order [his men], and fight [ye] "whilst [he] is marching. If he saith to the footmen "and the horsemen of another city, 'Hurry on,' then "certainly sit ye down until his soldiers come, when "ye shall fight according to his word. If, however, his "forces shall be in another city I beg you

"**11**. to march quickly to those Ḥā princes whom he

"hath brought to strengthen [his army], that is to say,
"Libyans and soldiers who fill (or, satisfy) the heart,[1]
"and I beg you to set the men in battle array against
"them, and to fight after the manner of [our] ancestors.
"Say, 'We do not know [what] he ordereth in collect-
"ing [his] soldiers.' Then yoke the strongest and finest
"horses of thy stable [to the chariots],

"**12.** and draw out the soldiers in fighting array.
"Thou knowest that it is the god Åmen who hath
"despatched us.

"Now when ye arrive at the sanctuary of Uast,[2]
"opposite the Åpts,[3] go ye into the water, and cleanse

[1] I.e., his picked, favourite troops. [2] I.e., Thebes.

[3] Perhaps the group of buildings which clustered about the great temple of Åmen-Rā, and formed the great temple town, the ruins of which are to-day called "Karnak." Or we may understand the "Northern Åpt," or Karnak, and the "Southern Åpt," or temple-town, the ruins of which are to-day called the Temple of Luxor.

"ye yourselves in the waters of the stream, array "yourselves in [your] finest [apparel], unstring your "bows, lay aside [your] arrows; let not any chief "imagine himself to be the equal of

"**13**. the Lord of two-fold strength (i.e., Åmen), for "there existeth no two-fold strength in a man without "his knowledge.[1] Him that is feeble of arm he maketh "strong of arm; though they (i.e., the enemy) be many, "they shall turn their backs in flight before the hand "of him that is without strength, and one man shall "lead captive a thousand. Wet ye yourselves in the "waters of his altars, and smell ye the earth[2] before "him, and say

"**14**. ye, 'Make, we pray thee, a way for us, and let

[1] I.e., without the help of the god, presumably Åmen.

[2] I.e., kneel on the ground and touch the earth with your foreheads.

"us fight under the shadow of thy sword, [for] a child "who hath been sent forth by thee shall vanquish "multitudes when he maketh his onset [in battle].'"

Then the soldiers threw themselves upon their bellies in the presence of His Majesty [saying], "Behold, thy name maketh strength in us, thy counsel "steereth thy soldiers into port, thy bread is in our "bellies on every road, and thy beer

"**15.** quencheth our thirst. Behold, thy bravery hath "given to us the sword (or, strength), and victory [shall "come to us] at the mention of thy name. The soldiers "who are led by a captain who is a dastard shall never "stand firm. Who is like unto thee? Thou art the "strong king of the South who worketh with his hands, "and thou art the overseer of the operations of war."

Then the soldiers went on their journey and

16. sailed down the river, and having arrived at Thebes they performed [everything] according to all the words of His Majesty.

And [again] they set out on their journey, and they sailed down the river, and they found many large boats sailing up the river containing soldiers, and sailors (or, transport-men), and mighty captains of every kind of the Land of the North, and every one of them was equipped with the weapons of war

17. to fight against the soldiers of His Majesty. [And the soldiers of His Majesty] inflicted a mighty defeat on them, the number [of the slain] being unknown, and they made prisoners of their soldiers, and captured their large boats, and the captives who were

alive were brought to the place where His Majesty was.[1]

Then they proceeded on their way to the region which is opposite to Suten-ḥenen (Herakleopolis) to set the men in battle array.

[The following] maketh known [the names of the] Ḥā Princes and the Kings of the Land of the North; behold [they are]:

King (Nemareth) and

18. King (Åuapeth).

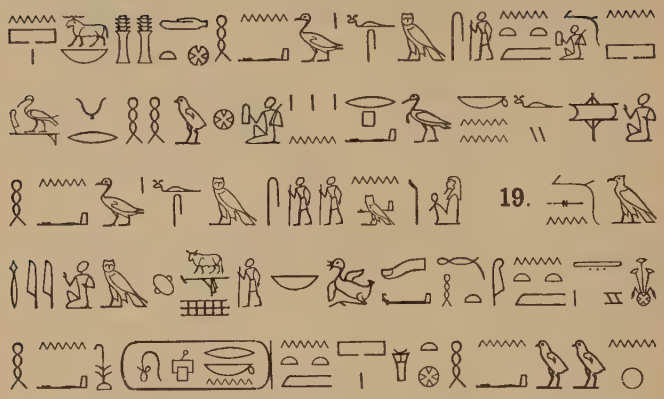
Shashanq, Prince of the Māshuasha, of Per-Åsår-neb-Ṭeṭ.[2]

And Tcheṭ-Åmen-åf-ānkh, Great Prince of the Māshuasha, of Per-Ba-neb-Ṭeṭet.[3]

[1] This seems to suggest that the prisoners were taken to the south, to Piānkhi's capital at the foot of the Fourth Cataract, Nept, or Napata.

[2] "The House of Osiris, Lord of Ṭeṭ," i.e., Busiris, the capital of the IXth nome of Lower Egypt. The backbone of Osiris was preserved in this city.

[3] The capital of the XVIth nome of Lower Egypt, the Mendes of classical writers.



And his eldest son [Ānkh-Ḥeru[1]], who was commander of the troops of the city Per-Ṭeḥuti-åp-reḥḥui.[2]

The soldiers of the Erpā Bakennifi.

And his eldest son, the Prince of the Māshuasha,

19. Nesnaqeti, in the nome of Ḥeseb-ka.[3]

Every prince who beareth a fan, who was in the Land of the North.

And King (Uasarken), who was in Per-Bast,[4] and in the district (uu) of Rā-nefert.[5]

[1] This name is supplied from the second list of governors (see l. 114 ff.).

[2] "The House of Thoth, the judge of the two men" (i.e., Horus and Set), in the XVth nome of Lower Egypt (see de Rougé, *Géog.*, p. 105).

[3] The XIth nome of Lower Egypt, Pharbaetites.

[4] Bubastis, in the Eastern Delta, the modern Tell Basṭah.

[5] The site is unknown, but the town was probably near Bubastis.

Every Ḥā prince, and the Governors of the Temple-cities, on the West of the river, and on the East of the river, and in the land of the districts of the interior (i.e., between the West and the East).

[All these] had joined themselves together in one bond (literally, in one water), and had become watchers of the feet[1] of Tafnekhth, the Great Prince of the West, the Governor of the Temple-cities of the Land of the North, the prophet of Neith, the Lady of Saïs,

20. the Sem priest of Ptaḥ.

[Then the soldiers of His Majesty] went forth against them, and they inflicted defeat upon them, the greatest defeat there ever was, and they captured their boats on the river. A number of deserters made their escape,

[1] I.e., they became violent partizans of Tafnekhth, and threw in their lot with his.

and they came into port on the West bank, in the district of Per-Peḳ.[1]

When the light dawned upon the earth on the morning of the second (i.e., following) day, the soldiers of His Majesty sailed over to [attack]

21. them. And they rushed in among the soldiers [of the enemy], and they slew of them men in multitudes [and] horses; the number [of the slain] was unknown. Panic broke out among the remainder, and they fled to the Land of the North [after] an overthrow which was greater and more disastrous than anything [which they had ever known].

List of those who were defeated (i.e., slain and taken prisoners) among them.

Men . . . . . persons.

22. . . . . .

[1] The site is unknown.

Then King (Nemareth) fled, and sailed up the river to the South, in accordance with the report which [had reached] him, [saying], "Khemenu[1] is opposite to (i.e., is "open) the enemy, that is, the soldiers of His Majesty, "who are capturing its men and its cattle." And he went into the land in front of the city of Un,[2] and the soldiers of His Majesty were on the river, at the quay

23. of the nome of Un. And they heard of this, and they surrounded the nome of Un, on all its four[3] sides, and they did not permit to come out those who wanted to come out, and they did not permit to enter those who wanted to go in. And they sent messengers

[1] The city of the Eight gods of the company of Thoth, the Hermopolis of the Greeks.

[2] Another name of Hermopolis.

[3] Schäfer's edition of the text gives , i.e., four, which is conclusive.

to report to the Majesty of the King of the South and North, (P-ānkhi-meri-Åmen), the giver of life, concerning every defeat which had been inflicted [on the enemy], and concerning every mighty deed of [the soldiers of] His Majesty.

And His Majesty growled (or, snarled) over it like a panther, [saying], "Is it possible that they have

"**24**. permitted [to live] a remnant of the soldiers of "the Land of the North, and have permitted one of "them to escape and to go forth to relate [the story] of "his journey, and have not caused them to die, [from "the first] to the very last man? I swear by my own "life, and by the love which I bear to Rā, and by the "grace with which my Father Åmen hath favoured "me, that I myself will sail down the river, and will "overthrow

25.

26.

"**25.** that which he hath done, and I will make him "to retreat from the fight for ever.

"Now after I have performed the ceremonies apper- "taining to the Festival of the New Year, I will make "an offering to Father Åmen in his beautiful festival "[wherein] he maketh his beautiful appearance at "(literally, of) the Festival of the New Year, and he "shall send me forth on my way in peace to look upon "Åmen at the beautiful Festival of the Åpt.[1] And I "shall make him to rise (i.e., appear) in his journeying[2]

"**26.** to the Åpt of the South,[3] in his beautiful "Festival of the 'Åpt-Night,' [and] in the Festival

[1] He will first celebrate the New Year Festival in his native city of Napata, before Åmen-Rā of Napata, and from him he will obtain authority to sail down to Thebes, and celebrate the New Year Festival before Åmen-Rā of Karnak.

[2] The procession from Karnak to Luxor.

[3] I.e., Luxor.

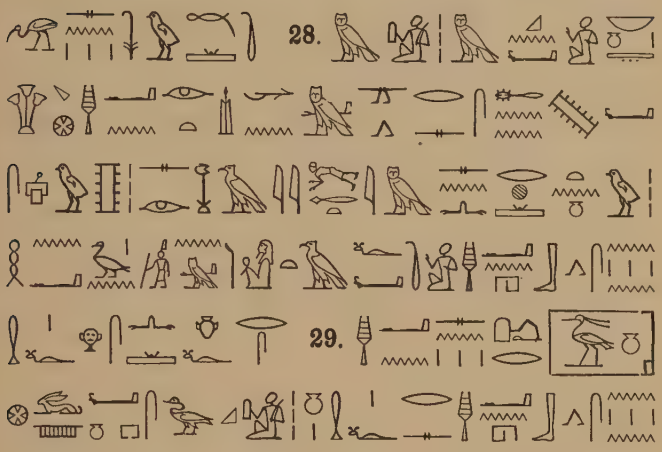
"called 'Stablished in Thebes,' the Festival which Rā
"celebrated for him in primeval time. And I shall
"make him to rise (i.e., appear) in his house, and he
"shall take his seat upon his throne, on the day of
"'Making to enter the god,' on the second day of the
"third month of the season Akhet,[1] [on that day, I
"say,] I will make the lands of the North to taste [the
"taste] of my fingers."

And when the soldiers who were remaining over

27. in Egypt heard of the wrath which His Majesty nursed against them, they waged war against the nome of Oxyrhynchus at Per-Mātchet,[2] and they captured it like a water-flood. And they sent messengers to His Majesty [to report this], but his heart was not satisfied thereat.

[1] The third month of this season was equivalent to a part of September and a part of October.

[2] I.e., the capital of the nome.



Then they attacked Ta-Tehen,[1] which was very strongly fortified, and they found it filled

28. with soldiers, and with every kind of mighty man of the Land of the North. And a wooden tower was made, and [its battering ram] was hurled against it, and the city walls were breached, and so great a slaughter was made among its people that the number [of the dead] could not be told; and the son of Tafnekhth, the Prince of the Māshuasha, [was among the slain]. And they sent messengers to His Majesty concerning it, but his heart was not satisfied thereat.

29. Then they attacked Ḥet-Bennu; the inner fortress thereof was opened, and the soldiers of His Majesty entered into it. And they sent messengers to

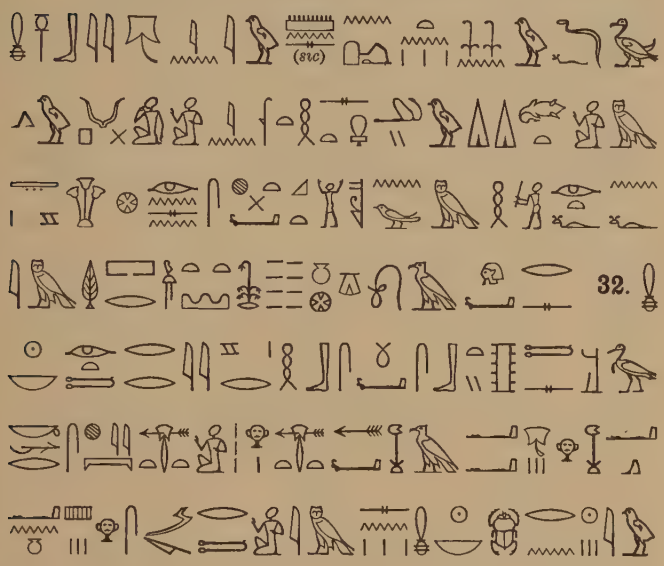
[1] Perhaps the Tehneh which lies between Gabal aṭ-Ṭêr and the Nile (see Amélineau, *Géog.*, p. 23).

His Majesty [to report this], but his heart was not satisfied thereat.

On the ninth day of the first month of the season Akhet, His Majesty set out and went down the river to Thebes, and he celebrated (literally, sealed) the Festival of Ȧmen in the Festival of the Ȧpt. Then His Majesty continued his journey

30. down the river, to the city of the nome of Un. His Majesty came forth from the cabin of [his] boat, [his] horses were yoked, [he] mounted [his] chariot, and the terror of His Majesty [reached] even to the countries of the Asiatics; and every heart quaked with fear of him. And His Majesty came forth in angry haste (?), and [he] hated

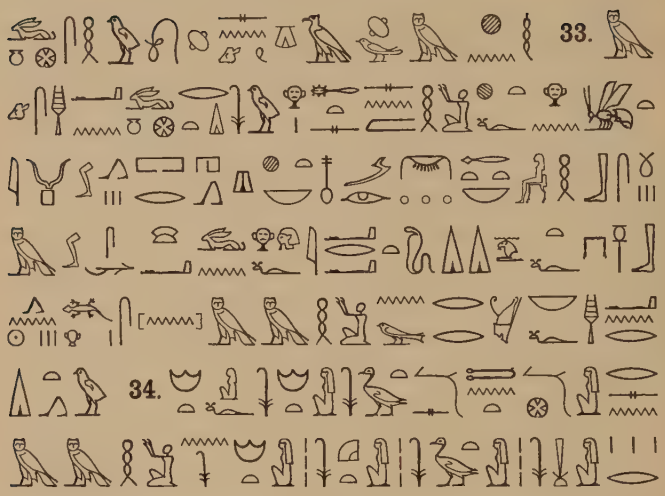
31. his soldiers, and growled at them like a panther,



[saying], "Is this the way ye continue to fight, and "delay my mission? Is the year complete [in which] "the fear of me hath been placed in the Land of the "North? Ye must make for them an overthrow, great "and deadly, by force of arms." And he made for himself a tent (i.e., pitched his camp) to the south-west of the city of Khemenu, and he besieged it

32. every day. And he made a mound of earth round about the wall, and he raised up stagings of wood for the shooters of arrows to shoot from, and the slingers to sling stones from to kill men among the people [in the city] every day.

And it came to pass that on the third day (or, in



three days) the city of Unu had an evil smell, and [its] odour was sickening.

33. Then the city of Unu cast itself upon its belly, and it made supplications [for mercy] before the King of the North (i.e., His Majesty P-ānkhi). And envoys came forth bearing things of every kind which were beautiful to look upon, gold, precious stones of every kind, apparel in a wooden coffer, "the crown which was "upon his head, the uraeus causing terror of him [to go "forth] for many days without ceasing, [thus making] "supplication to his crown." And he (i.e., Nemareth) caused

34 his wife, the wife of a king and the daughter of a king, Nesth-ent-. . . . ., to come and make supplication to the royal wives, and royal women, and royal

daughters, and royal sisters, and she cast herself upon her belly in the House of the Women before the royal wives [saying], "We come to you, O ye royal wives, "royal daughters, and royal sisters. Pacify ye Horus, "the Lord of the Palace, whose Souls are mighty, and "whose *kheru maāt*[2] is great . . . . . ."

[Here comes a break in the text; a few signs remain of five lines, and ten lines are wholly wanting. It is clear, however, from the continuation of the text that Piānkhi accepted Nemareth's gifts, and that this Prince eventually came into his presence to tender his submission in person. When the text again becomes connected we apparently find Piānkhi in the middle of a speech to Nemareth, and he says:]

"**51.** . . . . Verily who hath guided thee? Verily "who hath guided thee? Who then guided thee? "Who then guided thee? . . . . . .

[1] A few signs at the beginnings of lines 36–39 are visible.

[2] The power of thy word, or voice, is great, so great that any command uttered by thee must necessarily be followed by the effect thou wishest to see produced.

"**52**. thou the way of life. Behold, was there a flood "like an arrow? . . . . . .

"**53**. [the people of] the southern lands bow [before "me], and [those of] the northern lands [say], 'Grant, "we pray, that we may be under thy shadow.' Behold, "it is evil . . . . . .

"**54**. bearing his offering. The heart is a rudder "[which] overturneth its possessor by means of that "which is in the Divine Souls. It beholdeth flame in "pools of cold water . . . . . .

"**55**. Not a full-grown man is seen with his father, "thy nomes are filled with children."

Then [Nemareth] threw himself upon his belly in the presence of His Majesty [saying],

"**56**. O Horus, Lord of the Palace, behold it is thy

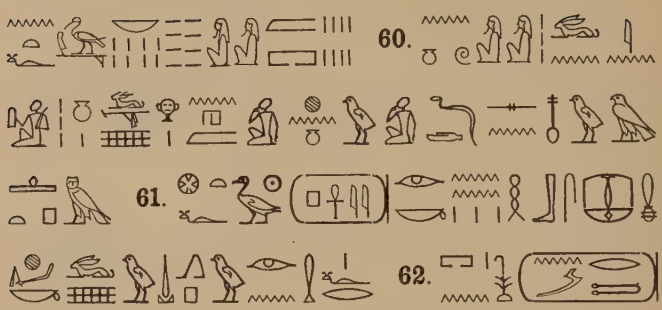
"Souls which have done this unto me. I am one of "the royal servants who are in duty bound to pay "tribute into the Treasury, whose tribute . . . . . ; "but I render unto thee

"**57.** more than they [all]." Then he brought forward the tribute due, silver, gold, lapis-lazuli, turquoise, copper, and large quantities of [precious] stones of every kind,

58. and he filled the Treasury with these offerings. He led a horse with his right hand, and in his left was a sistrum, a sistrum of gold and lapis-lazuli.[1] Then he (i.e., P-ānkhi) rose up like the sun

59. in his palace, and he went forth to the House of Thoth, the Lord of Khemenu, and he slew oxen, and calves, and geese for his Father Thoth, the Lord of

[1] See the illustration of the sculpture on the top of the stele.



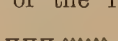
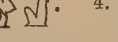
Khemenu, and for the Eight Gods who were in the House of the Eight Gods.[1]

60. And the soldiers of the Nome of Un shouted for joy and cried out and said, "Right well hath Horus "[done] in taking his place in

"**61.** his city, the son of Rā, (P-ānkhi). Thou hast "made for us a Seṭ festival,[2] inasmuch as thou hast "protected the Nome of Un."

Then His Majesty went forth to

62. the house of King (Nemareth), and he went through every chamber of the royal house, and his

[1] The Eight Gods were:—1.  . 2. . 3. . 4. . 5. . 6. . 7.  . 8. . They formed the oldest Company of Gods in Egypt.

[2] This festival indicated the absolute sovereignty of Piānkhi over the city.

Treasury, and his store-houses; and he caused to be led out

63. to him the royal wives and the royal daughters, and they were loud in the praises of His Majesty, after the manner of women, but His Majesty did not turn his face towards

64. them. And His Majesty went on to the stable where the horses were, and into the stalls of the young horses, and he perceived that

65. they had been suffering from hunger. And he said, "I swear by my own life, and by the love which "I have for Rā, who reneweth my nostrils with [the "breath of] life, that, to my mind, to have allowed

"**66.** my horses to suffer hunger is the worst of

"all the evil things which thou hast done in the "brutality (?) of thy heart. I have proof of [this] in "the terror of thee which is in those who are

"**67.** about thee (?). Is it possible that thou knowest "not that the shadow of the God is over me, and that "my luck never faileth [me] through him? I swear "that had it been another man who had done this,

"**68.** [and] one whom I did not know, I would never "have remitted to him [his] offence. I was formed in "the womb, and was made to come into being from a "divine egg, and the God set his seed

"**69.** in me, [and] placed his Ka[1] [with me]. I "have never done anything without him, and he him-"self hath decreed what I have done." Then the property of Nemareth was taken count of for the Treasury,

[1] The "double." The Ka came to a man at birth, but in the case of Piānkhi it was the Ka of a god that came to him.

70. and his storehouse of grain for the holy offerings (i.e., sacrosanct property) of Åmen in the Åpts (i.e., Karnak and Luxor).

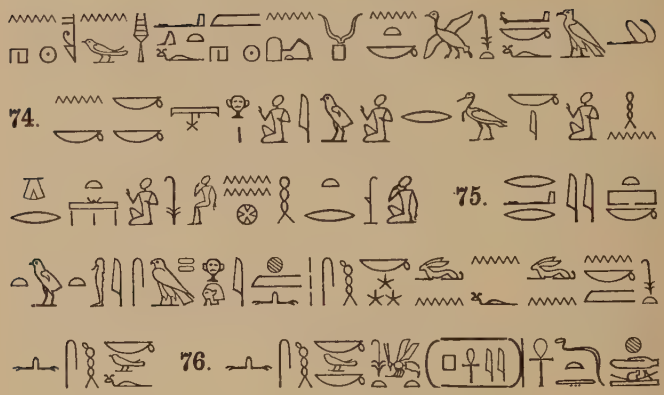
Then the Governor of Suten-ḥenen, (Pef-nef (?)-ṭāṭā (?)-Bast), came bearing offerings

71. to the Great House (Pharaoh), gold, silver, [precious] stones of all kinds, and the finest horses of the stable, and he threw himself upon his belly before His Majesty, and he said, "Salutation of homage to "thee, Horus,

"**72**. thou mighty king, thou Bull who conquerest "bulls! I was in a pit in the Ṭuat.[1] I was sunk deep "down in the depths of darkness, but now light hath "been made to

"**73**. shine upon me. I found no friend in the day

[1] "I was in the Other World," or "I was in hell."



"of evil, and none to uphold me in the day of battle,
"except thee, O mighty king, who hast [now]

"**74**. thrust away the darkness [which was] over me.
"Henceforward I will be thy servant, and all my
"possessions [are thine]. The city of Suten-ḥenen
"shall pay tribute into

"**75**. thy palace. Behold, thou art the image of Rā-
"Harmachis, and thou art above the stars which never
"fail.[1] He was [a king], and thou art a king; he hath
"never diminished,

"**76**. and thou shalt never diminish, O King of the
"South and North, (P-ānkhi), who livest for ever!"

Then His Majesty sailed down the river to Ȧpt-she (?),[2] which is near

[1] I.e., the circumpolar stars which never set.

[2] The "Opening of the Lake." Pīānkhi is sailing on the great canal now known as Baḥr Yûsuf, or "Joseph's canal."

77. Re-Ḥent,[1] and he found Per-(Rā-sekhem-kheper) with its walls [increased in] height, and its fortress shut [against him], and filled with mighty men of war of all kinds of the Land of the North. And His Majesty sent a messenger unto them, saying, "O ye "who live in death! O ye who live in death! Ye are "destitute of

"**78**. . . . . ye wretched men! O ye who live in "death, if [another] moment passeth without [your] "opening [your gates] to me, verily to you shall be "the doom of those who are overthrown; and this "will be a sorrowful matter to the king. Do not "ye close the doors of your lives at the block of

[1] "The mouth of the canal." The Arabs have preserved the name under the form Al-Lahûn, اللهون. The modern village is close to the place where the Baḥr Yûsuf enters the Fayyûm.

"slaughter this day. Love ye not death [so well] as to "hate life . . . . . .

"**79**. . . . . before the whole land."

Then they sent a message to His Majesty, saying, "Verily the shadow of God is over thy head, and the "son of Nut (i.e., Horus, or Rā) hath given unto thee "his two arms. The thing which is imagined in thy "heart cometh to pass immediately, even as doth that "which cometh forth from the mouth of the God. "Verily the God hath given birth to thee; [this] we "see by the mouth of thy two hands.[1] Behold [this is] "thy city, and its fortresses [are thine]

"**80**. . . . . Let him that would go in, go in, and "let him that would come forth, come forth. And let "the will of His Majesty be done." Then they came

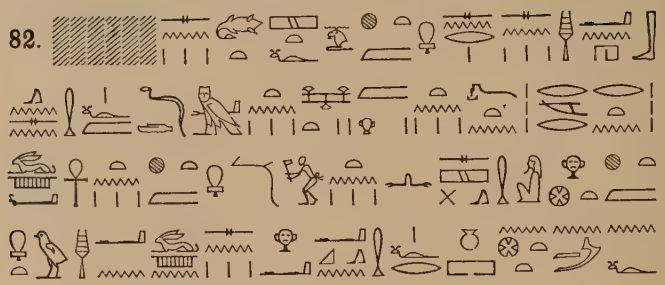
[1] I.e., the successful operations of thy two hands speak as a mouth and proclaim thine irresistible power.

forth with the son of the Prince of the Māshuasha, Tafnekhth. And the soldiers of His Majesty made an entrance into it, and he did not slay any man [therein]. He found the

81. . . . . . and the men who had seals to seal up his goods (?), and [the contents of] his treasure-houses were reckoned [as the property of his] Treasury, and his storehouses of grain were set apart as the divine property of his father Åmen-Rā, the Lord of the Thrones of the Two Lands.

Then His Majesty continued his journey sailing down the river, and he found Mer-Tem, the Temple of Seker,[1] the Lord of Seḥetch, [with its gates] shut, and it could not be reached. Its intention was to fight, and to . . . . . .

[1] The god of the dead of the Other World of Memphis, many of whose attributes resembled those of Osiris. The modern name of his kingdom, Ṣaḳḳârah, is probably derived from the name of this god.

82. 

83.

82. fear seized them, and terror closed their mouths.

Then His Majesty sent a message unto them, saying, "Verily there are two ways before you, choose ye "according to your desire; open [your gates] and ye "shall live, keep [them] shut and ye shall die. For "My Majesty passeth by no city with closed [gates]." And they opened [their gates] straightway, and His Majesty entered into the palace (or, innermost fortified building) of this city, and he made the obligatory offering

83. . . . . . to Menḥi Khent Seḥetch. His treasure-houses were reckoned [as the property of his] Treasury, and his storehouses of grain were set apart as the divine property of Åmen in the Åpts.

Then His Majesty sailed down the river to Thet-taui,

and he found its fortifications closed, and its walls filled with mighty men of war [of all kinds] of the Land of the North. And they unbolted the gates of their strong places, and they cast themselves upon [their] bellies

84. before His Majesty, [saying], "Thy father hath "decreed for thee [the] possession of his heritage. To "thee [are] the Two Lands, to thee is whatsoever is in "them, and to thee is whatsoever is upon the earth." Then His Majesty set out and made the obligatory offerings in great [number] to the gods who dwelt in this city, oxen, calves, and geese, and good and pure things of every kind. His treasure-houses were reckoned [as the property of his] Treasury, and his storehouses of grain were set apart as the divine property

85. [of Åmen, Lord of the Thrones of the Two Lands.

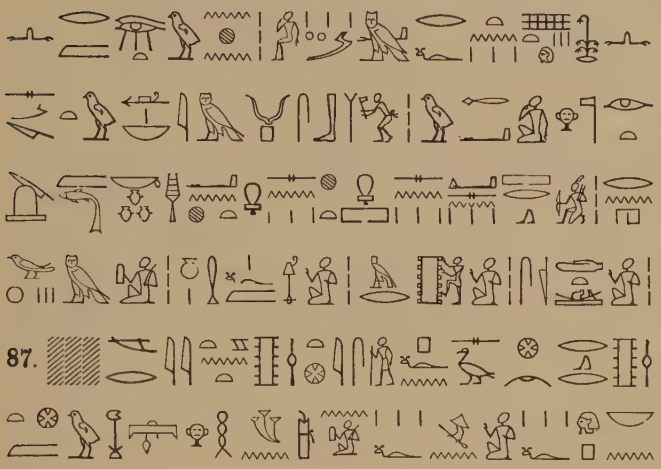
Then His Majesty continued his journey and sailed down the river to] Memphis. And he sent a message to them, saying, "Shut ye not [your gates], and fight "not in the city [which hath belonged to] Shu[1] from "primeval time. He that would go in shall go in, and "he that would come forth shall come forth, and the "men who would travel about shall not be obstructed. "I will make an offering to Ptaḥ and to the gods who "dwell in White Wall (i.e., Memphis). I will perform "all the ceremonies appertaining to Seker in the Shetat[2] "House. I will look upon the god of the Southern "Wall,[3] and [then] I will sail on down the river in "peace.

"**86.** [The grown up folk of] Memphis shall remain "unharmed and safe, and not a child shall raise a cry of

[1] The son of Temu, and grandfather of Osiris.

[2] The "hidden" dwelling of Seker, the name of which was "Shetat."

[3] I.e., Ptaḥ.



"distress. Look, I pray you, at the Nomes of the region "of the South! No man in them hath been slain in "them except the wicked ones who blasphemed the face "of the god, for the block of slaughter hath only been "used for those who rebelled."

[Nevertheless the people of Memphis] shut fast [the gates of] their fortresses, and they caused [a company of] soldiers to go forth against a few of the soldiers of His Majesty, who were artificers, and master masons, and boat-men, [and they slew them on]

87. the quay of Memphis.

And behold [Tafnekhth], that Prince of Saïs, arrived in Memphis by night, and he gave orders to his soldiers, and to his men of the water-transport, and to every captain of his soldiers, [some] eight thousand men [in

number], and he commanded them very strictly, [saying], "Verily, Men-Nefer (i.e., Memphis) is filled "with the mightiest and bravest men of war of all "kinds of the Land of the North, and its granaries are "overflowing with wheat, barley, and grain of all kinds, "and all weapons of war [are stored therein].

"**88.** . . . . . [The city is surrounded by] a wall, and "the great fort is built as strongly as the skill of the "artificer could make it; [as] the river floweth about "the eastern side thereof, no place for attacking it can "be found there. The byres are full of cattle, and the "Treasury is provided with everything, silver, gold, "copper, apparel, incense, honey, and unguents. I "shall depart and shall give a thing (i.e., a gift) to the

89.

90.

"Princes of the Land of the North, and I shall open "for them their nomes, and I shall . . . . . .

"**89**. [defend ye the city for a few] days until I come "[again]." Then he seated himself upon a horse, for he did not summon (?) his chariots, and he went down the river in fear of His Majesty.

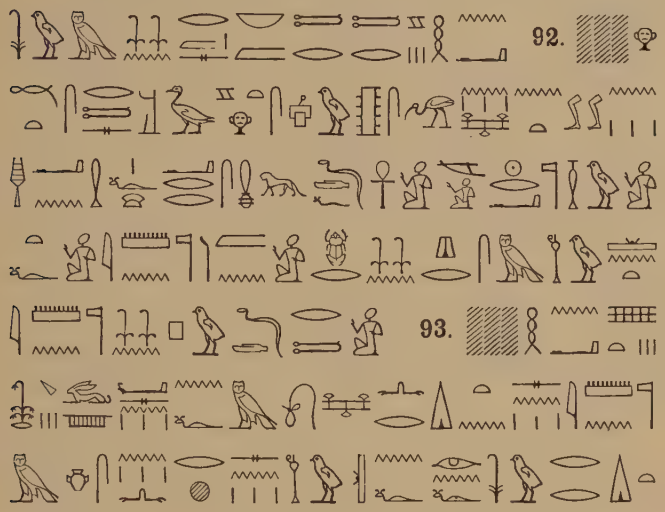
And when the light had dawned upon the earth, and a second day had come, His Majesty arrived in Memphis: he tied up his boat (i.e., landed) on the north [side] of it, [for] he found that the waters reached up to the walls, and that barges were tied up by

90. [the quay of] Memphis. And His Majesty saw that it was strongly fortified, and that the walls thereof had been made higher by means of new buildings, and that the forts thereof had been provided with strong

defences, and that there was no way (or, road) on which fighting might be conducted. Then every man among the soldiers of His Majesty spake his opinion, [stating] every principle [which should guide] the attack, and every man said, "Come, let us surround [the city].

"**91.** Verily its soldiers are more than thine."[1] Others said, "Make a road of earth up to it, and let us throw "up mounds of earth against the walls thereof. We "will fasten beams together on this side, and will set "up poles (or, masts) [on them], and we will make "cross-bars [reaching] from the ends [of these] to it "(i.e., to the city wall), and we can breach it by these "means on its every side from the mounds of earth, and

[1] I.e., too many for you to engage in the open.



"**92**. . . . . to the north of it, so that earth may be "raised against its walls, and we may find a path for "our feet."

And His Majesty growled at the city like a panther, and he said, "I swear by my own life, and by the love "which I have for Rā, and by the favour which my "Father Åmen hath for me, my maker (?), that these "things shall happen in respect of it by the command "of Åmen." This is the speech of men:

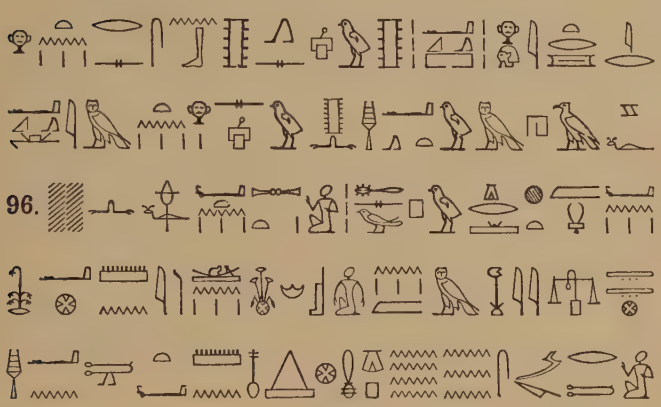
"**93**. [The fortresses which were closed] and the "Nomes of the South opened [their gates] to him "[whilst he was] on the road. They did not set Åmen "in their hearts, and they did not know of his decree; he[1]

[1] I.e., the god.

"hath made him to make [known] his Souls, and to "make to be seen his terror. I will capture it (i.e., "Memphis) like a water-flood, [for Åmen] hath com- "manded

"**94.** . . . . . " Then he caused his barges and his soldiers to go forth to fight against the quay of Men-Nefer, and they brought unto him every barge, and every transport, and every boat with decks, and every boat, all there were, which were anchored at the quay of Men-Nefer, tied by the bows to its houses.

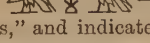
95. [There was not one] poor man who wept by reason of all the soldiers of His Majesty. And His Majesty came in person and drew up the ships, all there were, [to the quay]. And His Majesty commanded his

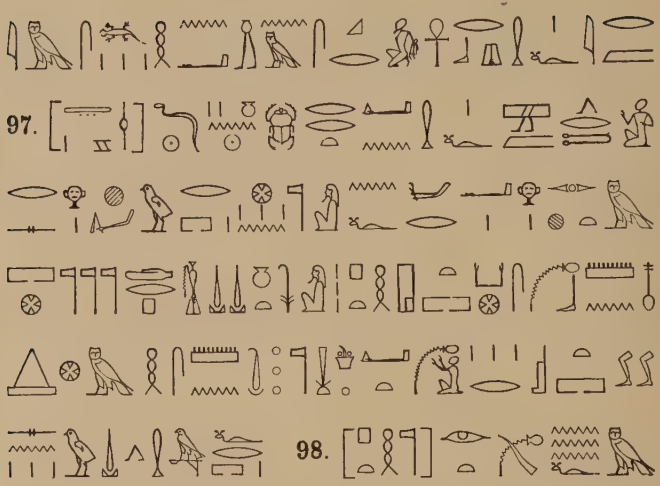


soldiers [saying], "Your faces to it (i.e., to the city). "Jump on to the walls, and enter the houses on the "waters of the river. If any one of you goeth in over "the wall, let him not tarry (or, stand) on the place "where he alighteth.

"**96.** . . . . . the captains may not drive you back. "It would, moreover, be an abominable thing [for us] "to have shut up the Land of the South, and to have "anchored our boats in the Land of the North, and "then to sit down in the city of Makhai-taui[1] [to do "nothing]."

Then Men-Nefer was captured as by a water-flood, and large numbers of men in it were slain, and [very

[1] The name  means "The balance of the Two Lands," and indicated the place where Lower Egypt ends and Upper Egypt begins (see de Rougé, *Géog.*, p. 3; Dümichen, *Geog. Inschriften*, III., 27).



many men] were brought alive as prisoners to the place where His Majesty was. Now when

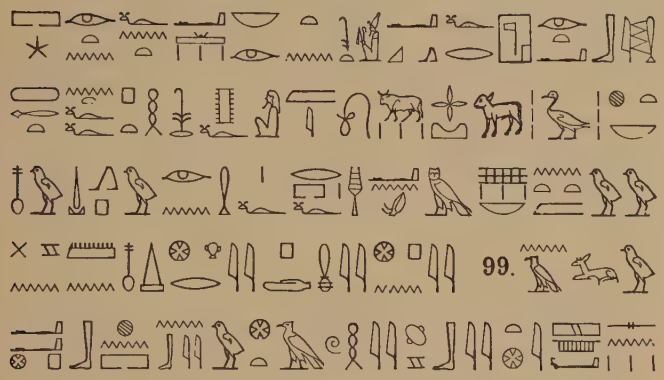
97. [the light had dawned upon the earth], and a second day had come, His Majesty caused men to go into the city to protect the temples of the God. And he . . . . . over the shrine in the temples of the gods, and he poured out libations to the Tchatchanutsu[1] of Ḥet-ka-Ptaḥ,[2] and purified Men-Nefer with natron and incense, and he set the libationers in the place of their feet.[3] Then His Majesty went forth to the temple

98. [of Ptaḥ], and his purification was made in the

[1] I.e., the divine magistrates of the temples of Memphis.

[2] I.e., the house of the Double of Ptaḥ.

[3] I.e., he either re-appointed them, or confirmed their previous appointments.



Ṭuat Chamber,[1] and he performed all the ceremonies which are prescribed for performance by the king. He went into the House of the God, and a great offering was made to his Father Ptaḥ of his Southern Wall, that is to say, oxen (or, bulls), calves, geese, and beautiful things of every kind. Then His Majesty went to his house.

And all the Nomes which were in the District of Men-Nefer heard [of this], and the city of Ḥeri-p-ṭemâi, the city of Peni-

99. naâuāā, the city of P-Bekh-en-Biu,[2] and the city of Ta-uḥi-Bit,[3] unbolted the gates of their strongholds, and [the people thereof] betook themselves to flight, and no man knew whither they had gone.

[1] This was the name of the hall where all the offerings were brought and presented. Tombs as well as temples had Ṭuat Chambers.

[2] The "Tower of Biu."

[3] The sites of these four towns are unknown.

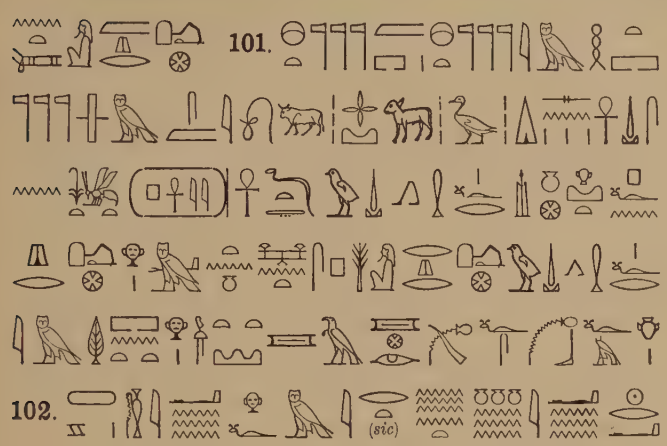
Then king (Áuapeth), and Akaneshu, the Prince of the Māshuasha, and the Erpā Peṭā-Ástetå,

100. and all the Ḥā Princes of the Land of the North came with their gifts to see the beauties of His Majesty.[1] And the [contents of] the treasuries and of the storehouses of grain of Men-Nefer were made the sacred property of Åmen, and of Ptaḥ, and of the Company of the Gods who dwell in Ḥet-ka-Ptaḥ.

And when the light had dawned upon the earth, and a second day had come, His Majesty went forth to the east bank of the river, and made an offering to the god Tem of Kher-Āḥa,[2]

[1] I.e., to experience the beneficent behaviour of His Majesty.

[2] This town lay near the modern Fosṭâṭ.

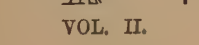


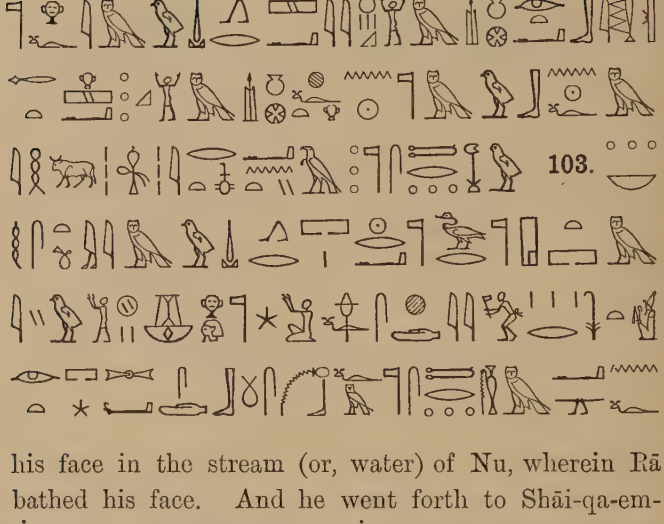
101. and to the Company of the Gods in the House of the Company of the god of the Ȧmḥet,[1] and to the gods who dwelt in it, of oxen (or, bulls), calves, and geese, so that they might give life, strength, and health to the king of the South and North (P-ānkhi), the ever-living. And His Majesty went on to Ȧnu,[2] over that hill of Kher-Āḥa, over the road of the god Sep of Kher-Āḥa. And His Majesty went on to the camp which was to the west of the city of Ati.[3] [He] made his libation, and he purified himself in

102. the Lake of Cold Water (Qebḥ), and he bathed

[1] A part of the Other World of Kher-Āḥa.

[2] On, i.e., Heliopolis.

[3] The name of the great canal of the nome of Heliopolis (see Brugsch, *Dict. Géog.*, p. 76). Other forms of the name are  .



his face in the stream (or, water) of Nu, wherein Rā bathed his face. And he went forth to Shāi-qa-em-Ȧnu (i.e., "Sandy height in Ȧnu"), and made a great offering on the "Sandy height in Ȧnu," before Rā as he rose, [consisting] of white oxen (or, bulls), milk, *ānti* (myrrh), incense, and

103. sweet-smelling woods of every kind.

And going forth [he] came to the House of Rā, and [he] entered into the temple [uttering] many many words of praise. And the chief Kher-ḥeb priest[1] gave thanks to the God and prayed that the [attacks of] fiends upon the king might be repulsed. [The ceremonies of] the Ṭuat Chamber were performed, and he girded about him the *seṭeb* garment, he purified himself with incense, and was sprinkled with water, he brought flowers (or,

[1] I.e., the priest who read the services.

flowers were brought to him) for the Ḥet-Benbent (i.e., House of the Pyramid), and perfume (?) was brought to him. [He]

104. ascended the steps [leading] to the great ark (?) in order to look upon Rā in the House of the Pyramid. [His Majesty] himself stood [there] alone. [He] broke [the seal] of the bolts, he drew back the folding doors [of the ark], and he looked upon his Father Rā in the House of the Pyramid, and [he made adorations to] the Māṭet Boat of Rā,[1] and the Sektet Boat of Tem.[2] [Then] he drew the folding doors together again, and laid clay thereon [which he]

105. sealed with the seal of the king himself. And he admonished the priests [saying], "I have examined

[1] The Boat of the morning sun.
[2] The Boat of the evening sun.

106.

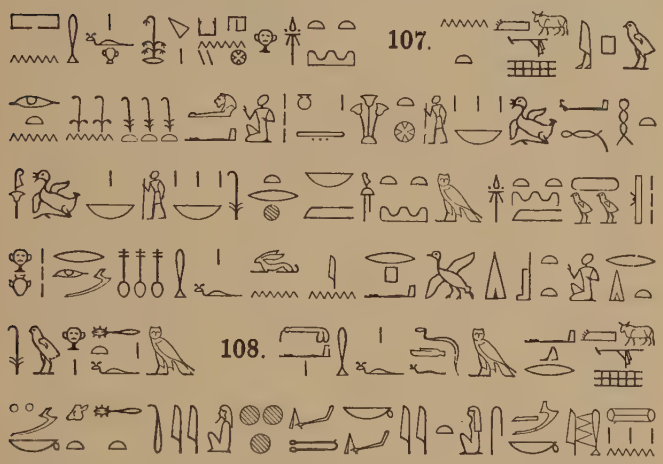
"the seal, and no other king who shall stand up "may enter herein." Then the priests cast themselves down upon their bellies before His Majesty, saying, "Horus,[1] who loveth Ȧnu, shall endure, and "flourish (or, be permanent), and shall never diminish." And [His Majesty] went on, entered into the House of Tem, and he joined in the procession of the Ānti figure **106**. of Father Tem-Kheperȧ, the Prince of Ȧnu.

Then king (Uasarken)[2] came to see the beauties of His Majesty.

And when the light had dawned upon the earth, and a second day had come, His Majesty set out from the river-bank (or, quay), at the head of his boats, and crossed over the river to the quay of the Nome of

[1] I.e., the king.

[2] He was probably Osorkon III.



Ka-Kem.[1] And the tent (or, camp) of His Majesty was pitched to the south of the city of Kaheni,[2] and to the east

107. of the Nome of Ka-Kem.

Then came these kings, and the Ḥā Princes of the Land of the North, and all the Princes, and all the fan-bearers, and all the deputies, and all the nobles, and all the kinsfolk of kings, from the West and from the East, and from the regions (?) which were between, to see the beauties of His Majesty. And the Erpā Paṭā-Ȧstet cast himself upon his belly

108. before His Majesty, and he said, "Come thou "to Ka-Kem, look thou upon Khent-khatthi,[3] and "thou shalt be protected (?) by Khuit. And offer thou

[1] The nome of Athribis. [2] The exact site is unknown.
[3] "He who is in the belly," the unborn Horus.

"sacrifices to Horus in his temple, [consisting] of oxen "(or, bulls), calves, and geese. Enter thou into my "house, draw thou back the bolts of the doors of my "Treasury, and make thou thyself master (?) of the "goods of my father. I will give unto thee as much "gold as thine heart can desire,

"**109.** and [a mass of] turquoises as large as thy face, "and the finest horses which are in my stud-farm, and "the best and strongest which are in my stables." Then His Majesty went to the house of Ḥeru-Khent-khatth, and sacrifices were offered up of oxen (or, bulls), calves, and geese, to his Father Ḥeru-Khent-khatthi, the Lord of the city of Kem-ur.[1] And His Majesty went to the

[1] A town in the nome of Athribis.

House of the Erpā Peṭā-Âst, who presented to him silver, gold,

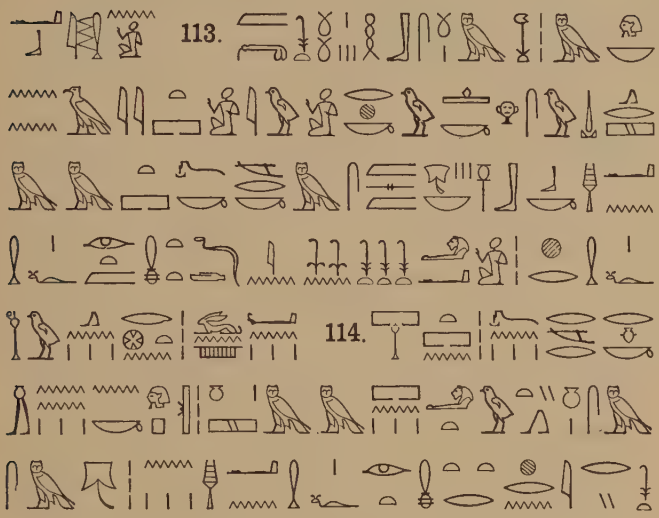
110. lapis-lazuli, turquoises, and a great mass of property of all kinds, suits of apparel made of byssus of every quality, couches and coverlets of fine linen, *ānti* (myrrh) and vases full of unguents, and horses, both stallions and mares, of the very finest which were in his stables.

Then [Peṭā-Âst] purified himself, and sware an oath by the life of the god, in front of these kings and great Princes of the Land

111. of the North [saying], "Whosoever of them "shall conceal his horses, or hide [any] property (?) "which he hath [from His Majesty], shall, most as-

"suredly, die the death of his father! I declare these "things indeed so that ye [O kings and princes,] may "accuse me the servant [if guilty], and if ye know of "anything whatsoever that belongeth to me, which I "have hidden from His Majesty, ye shall certainly "declare it, whether it be anything

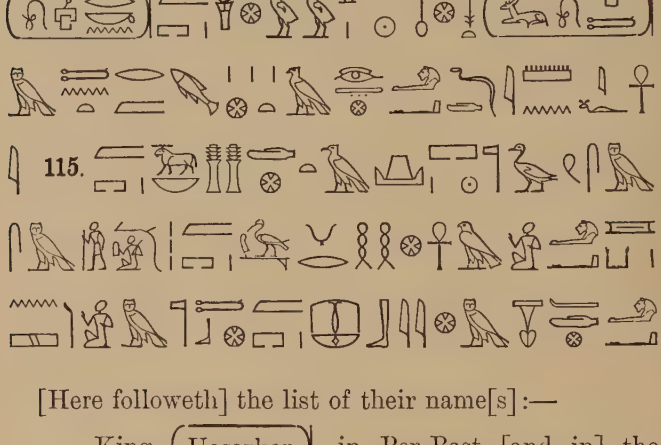
"**112.** of my father's house, or gold, or silver (?), or "[precious] stones, or metal vessels of any kind, ... "or gold bracelets, or gold ornaments for the neck, or "breast-ornaments inlaid with [precious] stones, or "amulets for any member of the body, or crowns for "the head, or rings for the ears, or ornaments of any "kind worn by the king, or any gold vessel wherein the "king performeth the ceremonies of purification, or "[precious] stones of any sort or kind whatsoever. "All these have I given as an offering



"**113.** before the king [besides] thousands of suits of "apparel of byssus, every one being of the best which "I have in my house, and I know [O king], that thou "wilt be satisfied therewith. Pass thou now into my "stud-farm, and choose thereout as many of the horses "which please thee as thou desirest." And His Majesty did so.

Then these kings and Ḥā Princes spake before His Majesty [saying], "Permit us to depart unto our cities, "and we will open

"**114.** our treasure-houses, and we will choose there-"out the things which thy heart loveth, and we will "bring unto thee the finest [horses] of our stud-farms, "and the best of our chargers." And His Majesty did so.



[Here followeth] the list of their name[s]:—

King (Uasarken), in Per-Bast [and in] the District of Rā-Nefer.

King (Ȧuapeth), in Thent-remu and Ta-an (?).[1]

The Ḥā Prince Tcheṭ-Ȧmen-åf-ānkh,

115. in Ta-Shen-Rā of Per-Ba-neb-Ṭeṭ.[2]

His eldest son, Ānkh-Ḥeru, the General of the soldiers in Per-Ṭeḥuti-åp-reḥḥui.[3]

The Ḥā Prince Akanesh, in Theb-neter,[4] in Per-Ḥebi,[5] and in Sma-Beḥuṭet.[6]

The Ḥā Prince and Chief of the Māshuasha,

[1] The sites are unknown.

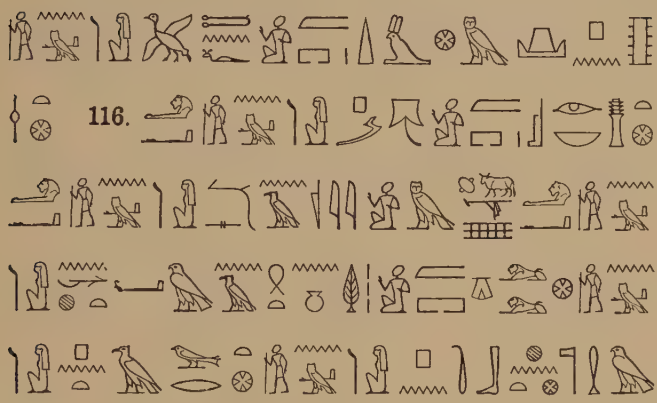
[2] "The Granary of Rā," a storehouse near Mendes.

[3] Mendes.

[4] Sebennytus, the ⲥⲉⲃⲛⲩⲧⲟⲥ of the Copts, and Samannûd of the Arabs.

[5] Behbêt (?).

[6] A town in the XVIIth nome of Lower Egypt (Diopolites).



Pathenef, in Per-Septˌ[1] and in Per-shen-en-Åneb-ḥetch.[2]

116. The Ḥā Prince and Chief of the Māshuasha, Pema, in Per-Åsår-neb-Ṭeṭ.[3]

The Ḥā Prince and Chief of the Māshuasha, Nes-naqeṭi, in Ka-ḥeseb.

The Ḥā Prince and Chief of the Māshuasha, Nekht-Ḥeru-na-shennut, in Per-ḳerer.[4]

The Chief of the Māshuasha, Pentaurt.

The Chief of the Māshuasha, Penthbekhenet.

The Priest of Horus, Lord of Sekhem,[5]

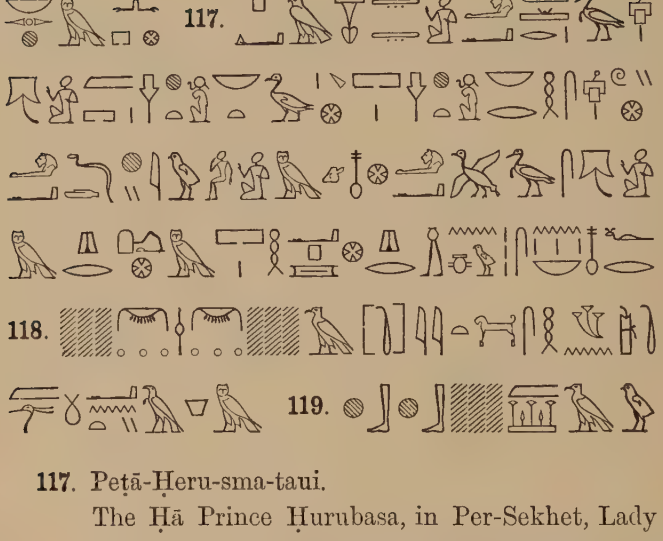
[1] A town of the Eastern Delta, which probably lay to the east of Heliopolis (see de Rougé, *Géog.*, p. 139).

[2] "House of the Granary of White Wall" (Memphis).

[3] I.e., Busiris.

[4] See Brugsch, *Dict. Géog.*, p. 858. This town lay, probably, near the southern end of the modern Suez Canal.

[5] Letopolis.



117. Peṭā-Ḥeru-sma-taui.

The Ḥā Prince Ḥurubasa, in Per-Sekhet, Lady of Saïs, and in Per-Sekhet, the Lady of Reḥsaui.[1]

The Ḥā Prince Tcheṭ-khiâu, in Khent-Nefer.[2]

The Ḥā Prince Pa-bas, in Kher-āḥa [and] in Per-Ḥāp.[3]

[These came] with their offerings of fine objects of all kinds,

118. gold, silver, [lapis-lazuli], couches, [with] coverlets of byssus, *ānti* (myrrh) in

119. vases, [and a great mass of goods of all kinds], and beautiful gifts (?), and horses.

[1] A town in the nome of Letopolis (see Brugsch, *Dict. Géog.*, p. 660; de Rougé, *Géog.*, p. 10).

[2] The site is unknown. [3] The "House of the Nile-god."

120. . . . . . [And when many days had followed] these, one came to say to

121. His Majesty, [Tafnekhth hath fled with his] soldiers; having pulled down] his

122. walls through fear of thee, he hath set fire to his treasury, and to [the ships] on the river, and he hath strongly entrenched himself in the city of Mesṭ[1]

123. with the soldiers. . . . . Then His Majesty caused his fighting men to go and

124. see what had happened there to the soldiers (?) of the Erpā Peṭā-Åst. And they came back to report

125. to His Majesty, saying, "We have slain every

[1] The site is unknown.

"man whom we found there." And His Majesty gave it (i.e., the city of Mesṭ) as a reward

126. to the Erpā Peṭā-Åst.

And Tafnekhth, the Prince of the Māshuasha, heard of this; he caused

127. an envoy to come to the place where His Majesty was, and to make supplication, saying, "Be "thou at peace [with me]. I have not seen thy face

"**128.** during the days of shame. I cannot stand "against thy fire, and terror of thee hath vanquished "me. Behold, thou art Nubt,[1] the Governor of the "South, and Menth,[2]

"**129.** the Bull, mighty of arm. Now, in any city "on which thou hast set thy face, thou didst not find

[1] A warrior-god of Ombos.

[2] The warrior-god of Hermonthis.

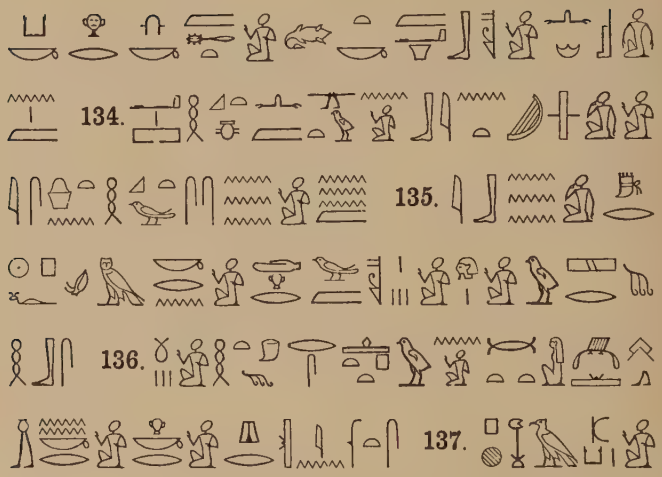
"[thy] servant. At length I reached the uttermost
"swamps [on the coast] of the Great

"**130.** Green (i.e., the Mediterranean Sea), [for] I
"was afraid of thy Souls, because his (i.e., thy) word is
"a fire which worketh enmity against me. Hath not

"**131.** the heart of Thy Majesty been cooled by
"reason of these things which thou hast done unto me?
"Behold, I am, in truth, a most miserable man;
"punish thou me not in proportion to my abominable
"deeds, [and do not] weigh [them] as in

"**132.** a balance, and find them out as with *qeḳet*
"weights. Thou hast [already] multiplied [the punish-
"ment] of them to me thrice. [If thou] leavest (i.e.,
"sowest) the seed thou wilt find it [again] in due
"season, and dig not up

"**133.** the young growth when it is about to put forth



"shoots. [Thou] hast planted thy Ka and thy terror in "my body, and thy fear is in my bones. I have not "seated myself in the

"**134.** beer-hall, and no man hath brought to me the "harp. Behold, I have [only] eaten the bread [required] "by hunger, and I have [only] drunk the water [de-"manded] by

"**135.** thirst; since the day whereon thou didst hear "my name wretchedness (or, misery) hath been in my "bones, and my head hath lost its hair.

"**136.** My apparel is rags, until the goddess Neith "shall be at peace with me. Thou hast brought upon "me a full course [of misery]. Let thy face be to "me with [kindness], for, behold, the year hath

"**137.** separated my Ka [from me]. Purge thou [thy]

"servant of his rebellion, and let, I pray thee, my "goods be received into [thy] Treasury, with

"**138**. the gold, and the [precious] stones of all "kinds, behold, too, the finest of [my] horses, [and let "them serve as] a restitution[1] for everything. I pray "thee also to send an envoy to me

"**139**. in haste, so that he may destroy the fear which "is in my heart. Verily, I will go forth into the temple "before him, and I will purge myself [of my sin] by "swearing an oath [of allegiance to thee] by the God."

140. Then His Majesty caused the chief Kher-ḥeb priest, Peṭā-Åmen-neb-nest-taui, and the commander-in-chief, Puarma, to go [to the place where Tafnekhth was]; and

141. he loaded them with silver, and gold, and

[1] Or, indemnity.

raiment, and precious stones of all kinds. And he went forth into the House of the God, and he made supplication to the God,

142. and he purged himself [of his sin] by taking an oath by the God, saying, "I will never [again] transgress "the decree of the king, and I will never [again] go "contrary to

"**143.** the words of His Majesty, I will never [again] "attack a Ḥā Prince without thy knowledge, I will "perform the behests

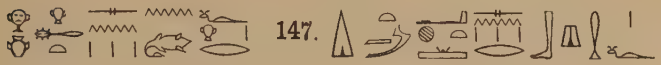
"**144.** of the king, and I will never [again] transgress "any decree which he hath uttered." And with [these words] the heart of His Majesty was satisfied.

Then one came to say

145. unto His Majesty, "The City of Ḥet-Sebek[1] hath

[1] The temple of Sebek, probably a Crocodilopolis of the Fayyûm.

146.

147. 

148.

"drawn back the bolts of the gates of its fortress, and "the city of Mātennu[1] hath cast itself upon its belly. "There existeth no

"**146.** Nome with its fortress closed against His "Majesty among the Nomes of the South, of the North, "of the West, and of the East. The Districts which "are in the midst are upon their bellies through fear "of him,

"**147.** and they are bringing as gifts their goods to "the place where His Majesty is, even like servants of "the Great House."[2]

And when the light had dawned upon the earth, and a

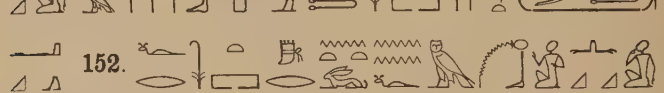
148. second day [had come], these two Governors of the Land of the South, and the two Governors of the Land of the North, with their uraei [on their foreheads], came to smell the ground of the Souls of

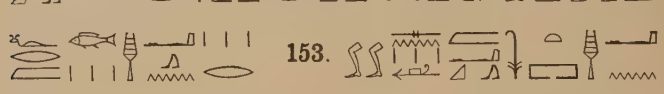
[1] Aphroditopolis. [2] I.e., Pharaoh.

149.

150.

151.

152. 

153. 

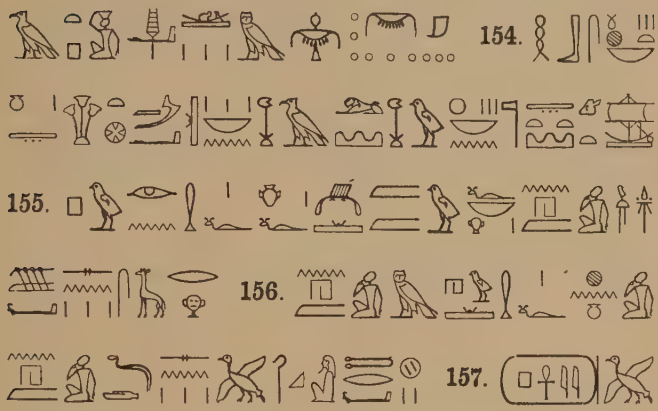
149. His Majesty. And behold, there came also these kings and Ḥā Princes of the Land of the North to look upon the beauties of His Majesty, and their legs

150. were like unto the legs of women. And they did not enter into the House of the king, because they were in the condition of uncircumcised (i.e., unclean) men,

151. and they were eaters of fish, which is an abomination to the House of the king. Behold, King (Nemareth) entered he

152. into the House of the king, because he was ceremonially pure, and he was not an eater of fish. Three [kings] stood on

153. their feet (i.e., where they were), and one entered into the House of the king.



Then the barges [of His Majesty] were loaded up with silver, gold, copper,

154. apparel, and products of every kind of the Land of the North, and with the products of all kinds of Syria, and with spices of every kind of the country of Ta-neter (or Neter-ta). And His Majesty

155. sailed up the river, and his heart was glad, and all [the people] on both banks rejoiced. [The people of] the West and the East devoted themselves to

156. rejoicing at the sight (?) of His Majesty, and they acclaimed him and sang with rejoicing and said, "O hail, divine Governor, Conqueror! O hail, divine "Governor, Conqueror,

"**157.** (P-ānkhi)! Hail, divine Governor, Conqueror! "Thou hast come and hast made thyself the Governor "of the Land of the North. Thou hast made men

"**158**. to be as women. Let the heart of the mother "who gave thee birth rejoice, and that of the man who "sowed the seed of thee. The dwellers in the valley "praise

"**159**. the Cow who hath brought forth the Bull. "Mayest thou [live] for ever! May thy strength abide "lastingly, O Governor, beloved of Thebes!"

THE DREAM OF TANUATH-ÂMEN.

The Invasion of Egypt by the Nubians.

1.

I. Obverse. **1.** The well-doing[1] god on the day of his coming forth.[2] [He is] Tem to all mankind, the Lord of the two horns, the Governor of the living, the Chief, the Conqueror of every land, Mighty one [with his] sword[3] on the day of battle, pressing forward [his] face on the day of smiting,

2. the Lord of strength like the god Menth,[4] great one of two-fold strength like the lion with a fierce eye,[5] right of heart like him that is at the head of the

[1] Or, perhaps, the good and beneficent god.
[2] Or, his appearance, i.e., his birth (?).
[3] Or, mighty of valour.
[4] A war-god of Hermonthis.
[5] Perhaps to be read Ma-ḥes, a proper name.

city of Ḥesret,[1] who set out on the Great Green (i.e., the Mediterranean Sea) in the track of the fugitive, bringing back the hind-part of him that was a fugitive [from] him.

3. He hath conquered this land without fighting, without opposition to his advance, the King of the South and North, (Ba-ka-Rā), the Son of Rā, (Tanuath-Ȧmen), beloved of Ȧmen of Napt.[2]

In the first year of his rising as king[3] [in Thebes ?],

4. His Majesty saw a dream in the night, [and behold] two serpents, one on his right hand and the

[1] Thoth is here alluded to.

[2] Or Napata, the site of which is roughly marked by Gebel Barkal, at the foot of the Fourth Cataract, on the one side of the river, and by Ṣanam Abû Dôm on the other.

[3] The year of his coronation, the first year of his reign.

other on his left. His Majesty woke and he did not find them. His Majesty said,

5. "For what purpose hath this [dream] happened "to me?" And they spake unto him, saying, "The "Land of the South is [already] thine, conquer thou "the Land of the North. The uraei of the goddesses "Nekhebit and Uatchit[1] rise above thy head and the "country hath been given to thee in its length and "breadth. There is no

"**6**. other person who shall share it with thee."

And His Majesty rose upon the throne of Horus in this first year,[2] and he went forth from the place where he was, even as Horus came forth from the

[1] These uraei formed two of the ornaments of the crown of the king of Egypt; Nekhebit represented the South and Uatchit the North.

[2] This clearly refers to a second coronation, when he became Tirhâkâh's successor.

papyrus swamps (Khebit).[1] He appeared from out of . . .

7. and there came to him millions and hundreds of thousands [of men] who were going round about after him. And His Majesty said, "Behold, the dream [hath "come] true. It is an excellent matter for one to place "in his heart, and it will cause evil to him that is "ignorant."

Then His Majesty went on to Napt, and there was none who stood up to resist

8. his advance. And His Majesty went forth to the god-house of Åmen of Napt, who dwelleth in the Holy Mountain,[2] and the heart of His Majesty was happy

[1] Khebit, or Khebu, , was the "Island of Chemmis" of classical writers (see Brugsch, *Dict. Géog.*, p. 569 and p. 1330). It was a town in the VIIth nome of Lower Egypt (Metelites).

[2] I.e., Gebel Barkal.

after he had seen his Father Åmen-Rā, Lord of the Throne of the Two Lands, the Dweller in the Holy Mountain, and [bunches of] *ānkhiu* flowers were brought to him for this god.

9. And His Majesty made Åmen of Napt to show himself,[1] and he offered unto him great oblations, and he made a permanent [endowment] of thirty-six oxen, and forty vessels of beer, and one hundred *shu*[2] [vessels of beer].

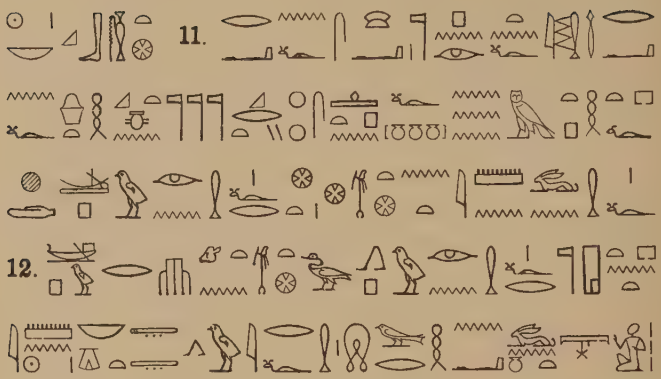
And His Majesty sailed down the river to the Land of the North, that he might see Father Åmen,

10. whose name is hidden from the gods. His Majesty came to Abu,[3] and His Majesty crossed over to

[1] I.e., he made a festival, during which the statue of the god was shown to the king and the public by the priests.

[2] The exact meaning is unknown (see the Stele of Aspelta, l. 30).

[3] I.e., Elephantine.



Abu, and came to the god-house of Khnemu-Rā,[1] the Lord of Qebḥet,[2]

11. and he caused this god to show himself. He offered unto him a great oblation, and he gave to him bread and beer for the gods of the Qerti,[3] and made the god Nu in his abode to be at peace with him.

Then His Majesty sailed down the river to Nut-Uast-ent-Åmen,[4] and His Majesty

12. sailed up to the fore-part of Thebes, and His Majesty went into the god-house of Åmen-Rā, Lord of the Throne of the Two Lands. And there came to him the *Sen-ur* priest, and the priests of the courses of the god-house of Åmen-Rā,

[1] Khnemu, the Ram-god, was originally the sole lord of the region of the First Cataract.

[2] The First Cataract.

[3] The two caverns in the Nile at the First Cataract out of which the Nile was believed to flow.

[4] I.e., Thebes, the city of Åmen, the No Amon of the Bible.

13. Lord of the Throne of the Two Lands, and they brought unto him bunches of *ānkhiu* flowers for Åmen, whose name is hidden. And the heart of His Majesty was glad after he had seen this god-house, and he made Åmen-Rā, Lord of the Throne of the Two Lands, to show himself, and a great festival throughout the land was celebrated [in his honour].

14. Then His Majesty sailed down the river to the Land of the North, [and] the West and the East acclaimed him, and welcomed him with rejoicings, and they said, "Thy coming is in peace, and [the coming "of] thy KA is in peace, to make the Two Lands to live,

"**15.** to set up[1] the temples which are crumbling "into decay, to stablish their divine *ākhemu*[2] in their

[1] Or, to rebuild, or restore.

[2] At this time the *ākhemu*, or *āshemu*, were the figures of the gods which were placed in the temples.

"abodes, to give divine offerings to the gods and to the "goddesses, and the things which come forth at the "word to the Spirits,[1]

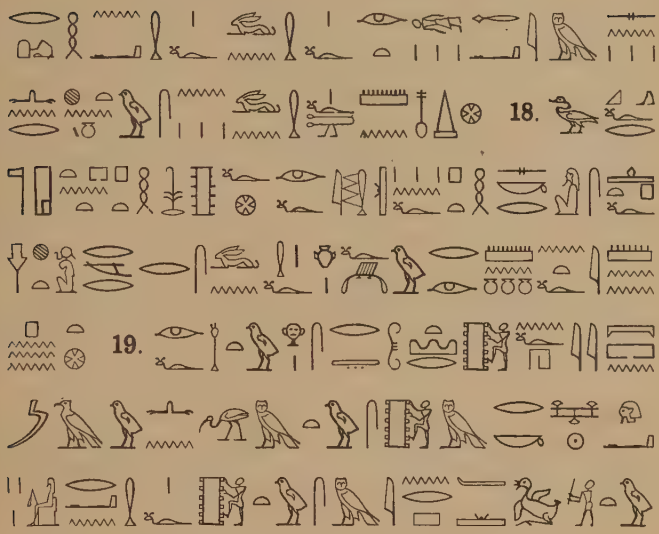
"**16**. to make the libationer priest [to minister] in "his place, and to stablish possessions of every kind "which appertain to the possessions of God."[2] Then those who had it in their hearts to fight became [full of] gladness.

And His Majesty reached Men-Nefer (Memphis), and the sons of revolt rushed forth

17. to fight against His Majesty; and His Majesty made a great slaughtering among them, and it was not

[1] It was a pious fiction at this period that the king gave sepulchral offerings to the Spirits, but as a matter of fact all that the king did was to prevent endowments from being misappropriated and misapplied.

[2] I.e., to build, maintain, and endow the temples of the gods and the sepulchral monuments of the kings, and to protect all the property of the priests.



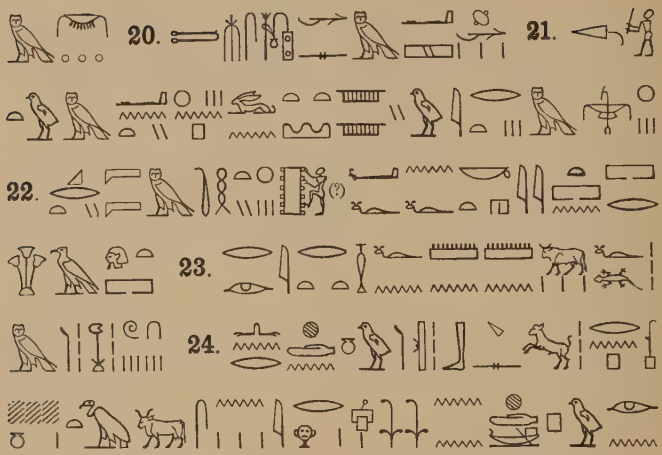
known how many of them [were killed]. His Majesty captured Men-Nefer, and he went into the god-house of

18. Ptaḥ of His South Wall, and he made a great offering to Ptaḥ-Seker, and an offering of propitiation to Sekhet,[1] the great [lady, through his] love for her. And behold, the heart of His Majesty rejoiced in the making of monuments to Father Ámen of Napt. And His Majesty decreed a decree concerning it

19. to Ta-Sti[2] to build for him a new habitation [the like of which] was not found builded in the time of [his] ancestors. And His Majesty caused it to be builded of stone inlaid with gold.

[1] The wife of Ptaḥ.

[2] I.e., Nubia.



REVERSE.

20. The inscribed sections were [made] of cedar wood

21. smeared (?) with the *ānti* (i.e., myrrh) of Punt. The two leaves of the door belonging thereto were [made] of silver-gold,

22. and the two bolts of lead (?).[1] And one built for him another habitation so that [he] might come out behind [the first] to make [the reckoning] of his

23. milk from his herds, which were many, by tens of thousands, and thousands, and hundreds, and tens, and the number of the calves

24. of the year of their mothers was unknown.

And after these things His Majesty made a sailing

[1] Lead, or some alloy, but what the composition of the metal was is unknown.

down the river, and he did battle with the Princes of the Land of the North (i.e., Delta), and they went into

25. their huts [as rats go] into their holes. And His Majesty passed many days by them, and not one of them came forth to do

26. battle with His Majesty; and His Majesty made a sailing up the river to White Wall (i.e., Memphis), and he sat down in his palace to think out and plan in

27. his heart how he could make his soldiers to surround them with mounds.[1] And one said that [men] had come to report to him, saying, "These Princes "have come to the place

[1] I.e., he wanted to attack the towns in the northern Delta by surrounding them with mounds from the tops of which his soldiers could shoot into the city.

"**28**. where His Majesty, the Åthi,[1] our Lord, is." And His Majesty said, "Have they come to do battle? Or have they come to tender fealty to me? [If the latter] they shall live from this hour." And

29. they said before His Majesty, "They have come "to tender fealty to the Åthi, our Lord." And His Majesty said, "My Lord, this holy god, Åmen-Rā, the "Lord of the Throne of the Two Lands, the Dweller in "the Holy Mountain, the god great and beneficent, "whose name (or, renown) is [un]known, who watcheth

"**30**. over him that loveth him, and giveth strength "to him that is over his water,[2] — he who is under his

[1] An old title meaning "sovereign."

[2] I.e., him that belongeth to his party, or is on his side.

"directions taketh no wrong path, and he who is "guided by him loseth not the way,—verily, what he "said to me in the night

"**31.** I see in the day."

And His Majesty said, "Where are they at this "moment?" And they said before His Majesty, "They "wait standing in the court (or, hall)." Then His Majesty went forth

32. from his house, [and his appearance was] like the shining of Rā in the horizon, and he found them placed on their bellies, and smelling the earth before him. And His Majesty said, "Behold, true is that "which he hath foretold.

"**33**. . . . . He knoweth what shall come to "pass, and being the decree of the god it shall come to "pass. I take an oath by Rā who loveth me, and by "Åmen in his house who favoureth me, and I swear "that I [saw] this holy god, Åmen

"**34**. of Nepita, the Dweller in the Holy Mountain, "when he was standing by me, and he said unto me, "'I will be thy guide on every road. Thou shalt not "say . . . . . .'"[1]

35. And they made answer to him, saying, "Verily, "this god made [known]

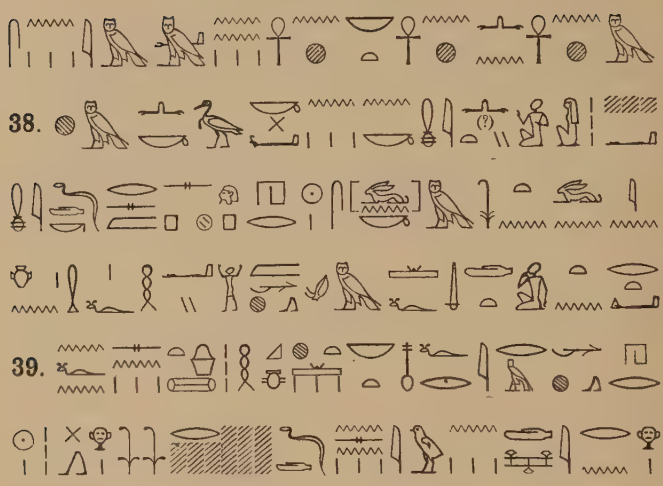
[1] The text of the rest of the god's speech is mutilated, and the renderings of many parts of it and of the following speech by the courtiers are doubtful.

"**36**. to thee the beginning [of the matter], and he "hath brought to the end [its conclusion] with happi- "ness. Verily, thou shalt not [change] that which "hath come forth from his mouth, O Âthi, our "Lord."

Then the Erpā and Ḥā Prince of Per-Sept,[1] Paqrer, stood up to speak, and he said,

"**37**. Kill [whom] thou wishest to kill, and keep "alive whom thou wishest to keep alive, for thou "wilt not fail to do what is right in every matter." And they made answer to him at one time (i.e., with

[1] The modern Saft al-Hennah.



one accord), and they said, "We beseech thee to grant "us our lives, O lord of life, for without thee there is "no life.

"**38**. Let us be servants of thine like the most "destitute folk who are thy slaves, even as thou didst "say the first time, on the day when thou didst become "king." And the heart of His Majesty rejoiced after he had heard these words, and he gave

39. them bread, and beer, and good things of every kind.

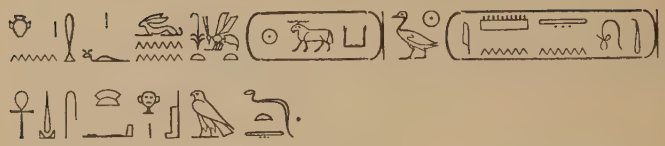
Now when [several] days had passed after these [things, and good things of every kind had been given to them in abundance], they said, "O Âthi, our Lord, "for what [purpose] do we wait here?" And His Majesty

40. spake, saying, "For what [purpose indeed]?" And they said before His Majesty, "Let us go to our "towns that we may rule our labourers on the land,[1] "and may bring our gifts of service to the palace"; so His Majesty sent them away to depart to

41. their towns, and they were in the condition of living men. And the men of the South sailed down the river, and the men of the North sailed up the river to the place where His Majesty was, with good things of every kind of the Land of the South, and with food (?) of every kind

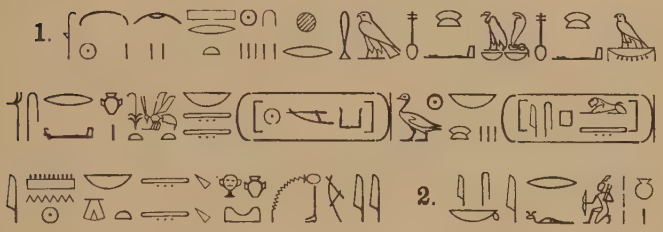
42. of the Land of the North, to propitiate the heart

[1] I.e., that we may work our farms with our labourers.



of His Majesty. May the King of the South and North, (Ba-ka-Rā), the son of Rā, (Tanuath-Ȧmen), Life, Strength, Health [be to him]! show himself upon the throne of Horus for ever!

THE ELECTION OF ÀSPELTA AS KING AND HIS ENTHRONEMENT.

1. 

1. The fifteenth[1] day of the second month of the season Pert,[2] of the first year of the reign of the Majesty Horus, NEFER-KHĀ, the Lord of the shrines of Nekhebit and Uatchit, NEFER-KHĀ, the Horus of gold, USER-ÀB, the King of the South and North ([MER-KA-RĀ]), the son of Rā, the Lord of Crowns, ([ÀSPELTA]), beloved of Àmen-Rā, the Lord of the Throne of the Two Lands, the Dweller in the Holy Mountain.[3]

2. Behold now, the whole army of His Majesty was

[1] Perhaps "day 13."

[2] The month called Mechir by the Copts; it included a part of December and a part of January.

[3] The modern Gebel Barkal.

in the city, the name whereof is Ṭu-āb,[1] and the god who dwelleth therein is Ṭeṭun,[2] the Governor of Ta-Sti,[3] the god to wit of Kesh,[4]

3. after the Hawk[5] had arrived upon his *serekh*.[6]

Behold now, there were there six generals who filled the heart[7] of the military assembly of His Majesty; and there were there six officials who were favourites of the Overseer of the Seal. And behold, there were there

[1] Presumably the town on the east bank of the Nile, facing Napata on the west bank.

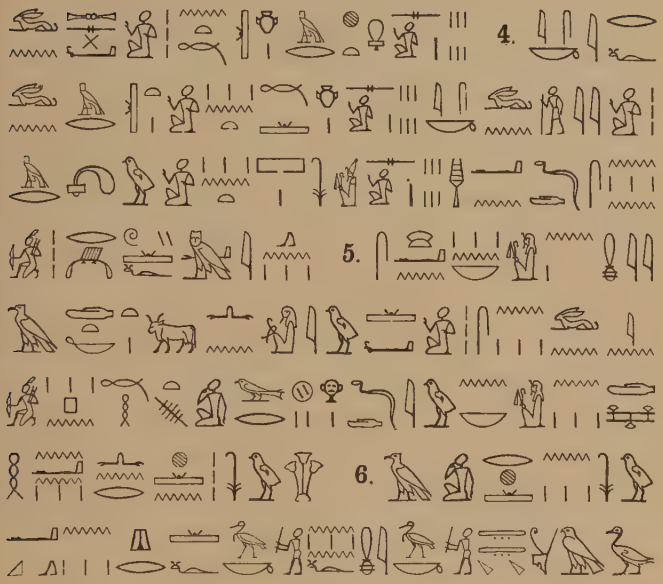
[2] A very ancient Nubian god, whose original attributes are unknown. He is mentioned in the Pyramid Texts in such a way as to suggest that he was the chief god of the Northern Sûdân. In a relief at Semnah he appears in the form of the usual Egyptian god carrying in one hand and in the other, and he wears a tail (see Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, iii. 52).

[3] Northern Nubia. [4] The Cush of the Bible.

[5] The "hawk" here mentioned is the king who had died recently.

[6] I.e., after the late king had been laid to rest in his tomb. The *serekh* is a tomb (see Maspero, *Revue Critique*, 1888, p. 118; Moret, *Du Caractère Religieux de la Royauté Pharaonique*, p. 19).

[7] I.e., they were favourite officers.



4. six Overseers of Books who were favourites of the [Chief Overseer of Books]; and behold, there were there six Princes and Overseers of the Seal (?) of the House of the king. And they said unto the whole army, "Come, let us crown

"**5.** our Lord over us, [who shall be] like a young "bull (?) which [the herdsmen] cannot subdue." And these soldiers meditated upon the matter most carefully, and they said, "Our Lord is standing among us, "[though] we know him not.

"**6.** But we must know who he is, and we will enter "his [service], and we will serve him, even as the Two

"Lands served Horus, the son of Isis, after he had "seated himself upon the throne of his father Osiris, "and we will ascribe praise unto his two Uatchti "serpents." [1]

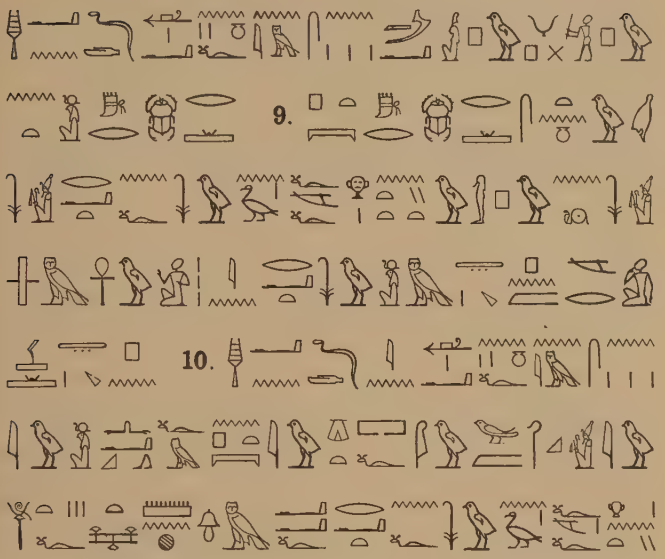
7. And one said unto his fellow among them, "No "person whatsoever knoweth who he is except Rā "himself; may the god drive away from him evil of "every kind in every place wheresoever he may be." And one said

8. unto his fellow among them, "Rā [2] hath set in "Ānkhtet, [3] but his crown is in our midst." And one

[1] These are the two serpents which formed the chief ornament of the crown of the king of Egypt.

[2] The dead king is here identified with Rā, the Sun-god, and his death is compared to the setting of the god.

[3] The Land of Life, a common name of Àmenti, or the Other World.



said unto his fellow among them, "This is truth. It is "the decree of Rā, from the time when the

"**9.** heavens came into being, and from the time "when the crown of the king was created, and he made "him to be his beloved son, because the king is the "image of Rā among the living. Behold, Rā hath "set him in this land, wishing [him to be] the overlord "of this land."

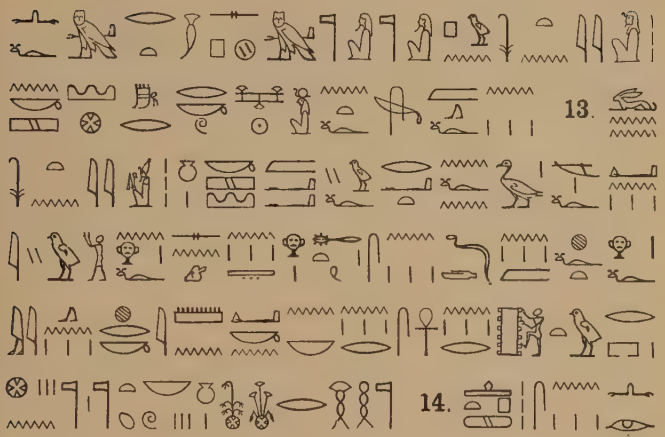
10. And one said unto his fellow among them, "Hath not Rā entered into the sky? His throne is "empty of a Ruler. His noble deeds remain perfected "by his two hands. Rā hath made him to be his

"beloved son because he knew [him], saying, 'He "made laws which were good [whilst he was] on his "throne.'"

11. And all these soldiers meditated upon the matter most carefully, and [they] said, "Our Lord is standing "among us, [though] we know not who he is."

Then all the soldiers of His Majesty spake with one voice (or, mouth) [saying], "Surely there existeth this "god, Ȧmen-Rā, the Lord of the Throne of the Two "Lands, Dweller in the Holy Mountain, the god to "wit of Kesh.

"**12.** Come and let us go before him. Let us not do "anything without his knowledge, for that thing which "is done without his knowledge is not good. Come "and place the matter with the god, who hath been



"the god of the kings of Kesh since the time of Rā,[1]
"for it is he who shall guide us.

"**13.** The kings of Kesh are in his hands, and he "giveth [the country] unto his beloved son. Let us "give praises to his face,[2] and let us smell the earth "upon our bellies. Let us say before him, 'We have "come before thee, O Åmen, give thou unto us a Lord "over us, who shall make us to live, who shall build "the temples of all the gods and goddesses of the Land "of the South and the Land of the North, and who "shall establish

"**14.** their offerings. We will do nothing without "thy knowledge, thou shalt be our leader (or, guide),

[1] This statement illustrates how thoroughly Nubia had become Egyptianized. No purely Sûdânî people has ever worshipped the sun, but here we find the Nubians abandoning their old gods for the Sun-god of Heliopolis.

[2] Or, "before him."

"and we will do nothing in the matter without thy "knowledge.'" And the whole army said, "This is a "good saying in very truth, a million times over."

Then the generals of His Majesty

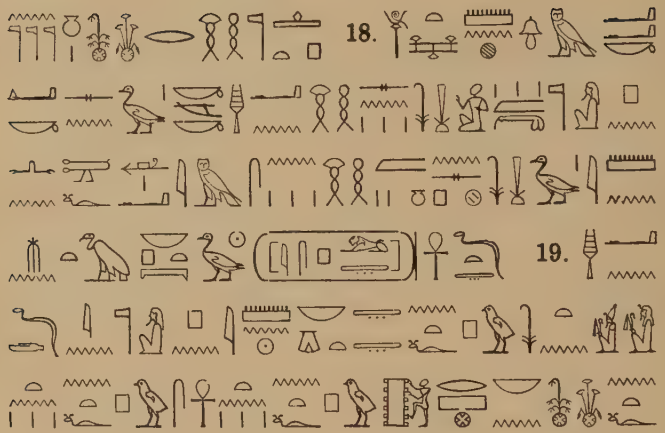
15. and the high officials (*smeru*) of the House of the king went into the god-house of Åmen, and they found the servants of the god (i.e., priests) and the chief libationers standing round about the temple. And they said unto them, "[We] have come before the "god Åmen-Rā, the Dweller within the Holy Mountain, "so that he may give us a Lord to be over us who "shall make us to live, who shall build the temples "of all the

"**16.** gods and goddesses of the Land of the South

"and the Land of the North, and shall establish their "offerings. We will do nothing without the knowledge "of this god, [for] he is our leader (or, guide)."

And the servants of the god and the chief libationers made an entrance into the temple, and they performed all the rites which had to be performed, and they sprinkled water therein and censed it. And the generals of His Majesty

17. and the princes of the House of the king made an entrance into the temple, and they placed themselves on their bellies in the presence of this god, and they said, "We have come unto thee, Åmen-Rā, Lord "of the Throne of the Two Lands, Dweller within "the Holy Mountain. Give thou to us a Lord to make



"us to live, to build the temples of the gods of the "Land of the South and the Land of the North, and to "establish the offering [in them]. The exalted estate

"**18.** [of kingship] rests wholly in thy hands: grant "thou it unto thy beloved son."

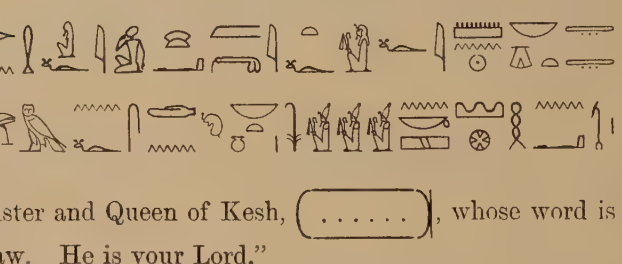
Then they placed the royal brethren before this god, but he did not lead out any one of them. And next, on the second occasion, when [they] set [before this god] the royal brother, the son of Åmen, born of the goddess Nut, the Lady of heaven, the son of Rā, ([Åspelta]), the everliving, this god

19. Åmen-Rā, Lord of the Throne of the Two Lands, spake, saying: "This is the King, your Lord, this is he "who shall make you to live, this is he who shall build "every temple of the Land of the South and the Land "of the North, this is he who shall establish their

"offerings; for his father was Ḳeb, the son of Rā,
"(.....), whose word is law, and his mother was
"the royal sister, royal mother, Queen of Kesh,

"**20.** daughter of Rā, ([NENSELSA]), the everliving;
"and her mother was the royal sister, the high-priestess
"of Åmen-Rā, the king of the gods of Thebes, (.....),
"whose word is law; and her mother was the royal
"sister, (.....), whose word is law; and her
"mother was the royal sister, (.....), whose word
"is law; and her mother was the royal sister,
"(.....), whose word is law; and her mother
was the royal sister, (.....),

"**21.** whose word is law; and her mother was the royal

22. 

"sister and Queen of Kesh, (.....), whose word is "law. He is your Lord."

And the generals of His Majesty and the high officials of the House of the king threw themselves down on their bellies before this god, and they made the most humble obeisance,[1] and they gave praise unto this god

22. because of the strength (or, dominion) which he had made for his beloved son, the king of the South and North, ([Åspelta]), the everliving.

And His Majesty entered into [the temple] to be crowned before his divine Father, Åmen-Rā, the Lord of the Throne of the Two Lands, and he found every crown

[1] Literally, "smelt the ground very much."

of the kings of Kesh and their sceptres laid before this god. And His Majesty spake before

23. this god, saying: "I have come, Åmen-Rā, the "Lord of the Throne of the Two Lands, the Dweller "within the Holy Mountain; grant thou to me the "exalted dignity which shall remain permanent, which "it was not in my heart [to aspire to], through the "greatness of thy love, and grant thou to me the crown, "through thy heart's love, and the sceptre." And this god said: "The crown of thy divine brother, the King "of the South and North, (. . . . .), whose word is "law, is thine,

"**24.** and it shall be stablished upon thy head even "as the . . . . . is stablished on thy head. His sceptre "is in thy grasp, and it shall overthrow for thee all "thine enemies."

Then His Majesty placed on his head [the crown] of his divine brother, the King of the South and North, (.....), whose word is law, and took his sceptre in his grasp. And His Majesty placed himself on [his belly] before

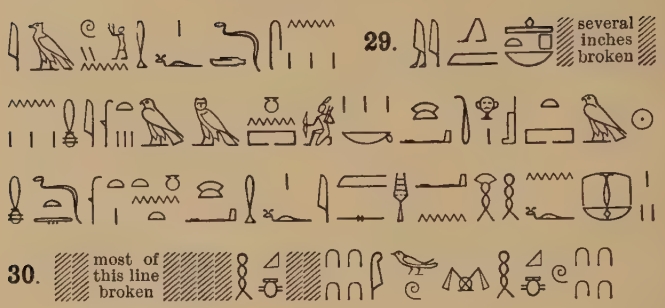
25. this god, and, making the most humble obeisance, said: "I have come unto thee, Åmen-Rā, "the Lord of the Throne of the Two Lands, the Dweller "within the Holy Mountain, thou god of olden time, "whose love is sweet, who heareth him that maketh "a petition unto him straightway, ... grant thou "[to me] life, stability, serenity of every kind, health, "joy of heart of every kind, like Rā for ever, and a "happy old age.

"**26.** Grant thou to me the perception ..... in the

"time of Rā. Let not lie down . . . . . Grant thou
"that the love of me shall be in the country of Kesh,
"and awe

"**27**. of me in the land of Kenset . . . . . Grant thou
"that the love of me shall be . . . . . " And this god said: "[I have given unto] thee all these things,
"and thou shalt never, never [have need] to say,
"'Would that I had them.'"

28. Then His Majesty made a coming forth (or, appearance) from the temple into the midst of his soldiers like the rising [of Rā], and his soldiers rejoiced in him and uttered loud cries of gladness. And the



hearts of the [high officers of the House of the king] were exceedingly happy, and they ascribed praises unto His Majesty, and said:

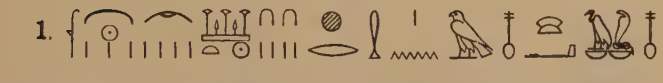
"**29**. Come in peace, O our Lord . . . . . like the "years of Horus in the midst of thy soldiers. Thou "risest (or, art crowned) upon the throne of Horus, like "Rā, for ever."

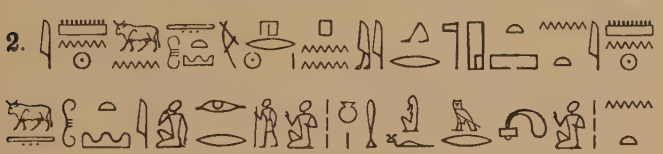
And in this first year of the coronation of His Majesty he established festivals.

30. . . . . [and he gave to the priests of the temple of Åmen-Rā, the Lord of the Throne of the Two Lands, the Dweller within the Holy Mountain], ... [one hundred vessels of] beer, and forty *shu*, in all one hundred and forty vessels of beer.

THE STELE OF QUEEN MAṬISENEN, WIFE OF ÀSPELTA.

Dedication of Offerings for a Priestess of Àmen-Rā.

1. 

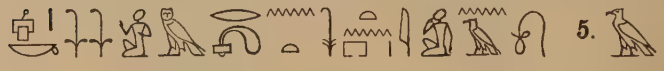
2. 

1. The twenty-fourth day of the fourth month of the season Akhet[1] of the third year under the Majesty of Horus, Nefer-khā, the Lord of the shrines of Nekhebit and Uatchit, Nefer-khā, the Horus of gold, User-àb, the King of the South and North, (Mer-ka-Rā), the son of Rā, (Àspelta), the everliving, **2.** the beloved of Àmen-Rā, the Bull of Ta-Sti. On this day the high officers of state of His Majesty came and visited

[1] A part of October and a part of November.

3.

4.



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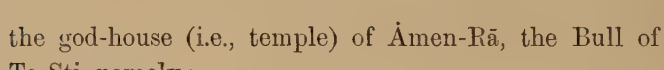
6. 

the god-house (i.e., temple) of Åmen-Rā, the Bull of Ta-Sti, namely:

The overseers of the chancery of the **3.** House of the King.

The Prince (Ḥā) of Ta-Sti, the overseer of the estates, Rumā-Amen.

The young (?) overseer of the chancery of the House of the King, Åmen-tarh- **4.** aknen.

The overseer of the chancery of the House of the King of the goddess Uatchit, Qerta-Åmen-saknen.

The overseer of the chancery of the House of the King, Ånau- **5.** asasu Karu-Åmen-tanen.

The overseer of the chancery of the House of the King, the chief . . . . . Kensamākhinen. **6.**

The overseer of the chancery of the House of the King, the chief magistrate, Nasata-ȧbusaknen.

The chief scribe of Kesh, Mārubiua- **7.** Ȧmen.

The royal scribe and overseer of the granary, Khensu-ȧrṭās.

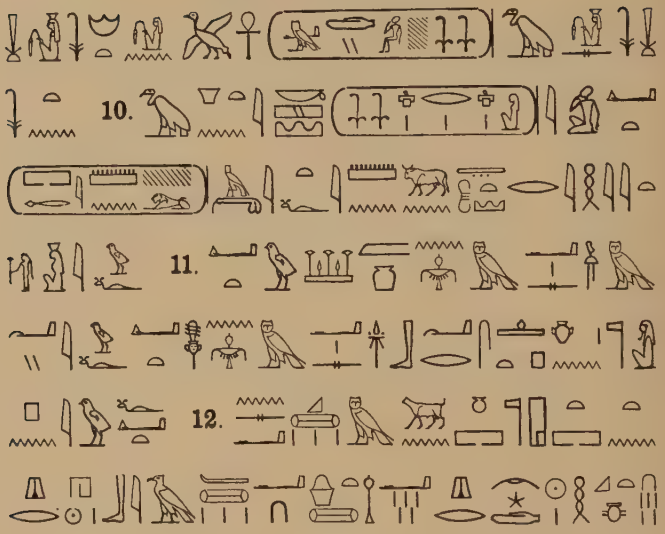
The overseer of the chancery of the infantry (?) of Ta-Sti, Ȧrta.

The royal scribe of the granary,

8. Takarta. The secretary of the king, Paṭānub. In all, eleven men came to the temple of Ȧmen-Rā, the Bull of Ta-Sti. The servants of the god (i.e., priests) and the divine Fathers of this temple spake on behalf of the Majesty

9. Horus Pharaoh [saying]:

"The royal sister and royal wife of the living one



"(i.e., the king), (MĀṬISENEN),—her mother was the "royal sister and royal

"**10**. mother, the Queen of Åkesh, (NENSARASA), "whom the (PHARAOH ÅMEN-[TA]R) made to be a "priestess before Father Åmen, the Bull of Ta-Sti, and "he placed

"**11**. a silver libation bucket in her right hand, and "he placed a silver sistrum in her left hand, for the "propitiation of the heart of this god. And he ap- "pointed

"**12**. to her a ration of bread in this temple daily "[consisting] of ten *bâa* loaves and five *ḥetch* loaves,

"and fifteen [vessels] of beer, each month, and three "oxen

"**13**. each year. Together with these, at every festival "one *āsh* vessel of beer and two *ḥcshu* vessels of . . . . . "shall give the royal sister, the royal daughter, the "mistress of the land Khebit, the eldest daughter of "the royal

"**14**. sister and royal wife of the living one (i.e., the "king), (MĀṬISENEN). This ration shall continue for "ever and for ever. Her children, and the children "of her

"**15**. children, are in duty bound to maintain [this "ration] for ever and ever, and they shall not diminish "anything whatsoever therefrom for ever and for ever.

"Whosoever shall establish and perform

"**16.** this decree in the temple of Åmen-Rā, the Bull "of Ta-Sti, shall enjoy the favours of Åmen-Rā, and his "son shall be established (or, maintained) on his seat. "But whosoever shall make

"**17.** this decree to be set aside in the temple of "Åmen-Rā, the Bull of Ta-Sti, shall be slain by the "sword of Åmen-Rā, and shall be burnt in the fire of "the goddess Sekhet, and his son

"**18.** shall not be established (or, maintained) on his "seat." [This decree is made]

In the presence of Uahmāni-Åmen, the second prophet of Åmen-Rā, the Bull of Ta-Sti.

In the presence of Tanen-Åmen, the third prophet of Åmen-Rā, the Bull of Ta-Sti.

19. In the presence of Tanen-buta, the fourth prophet of Åmen-Rā, the Bull of Ta-Sti.

In the presence of . . . . . ., the scribe of the divine writing (i.e., hieroglyphics) of Åmen-Rā, the Bull of Ta-Sti.

In the presence of

20. Sapåkhi, a chief libationer of this god.

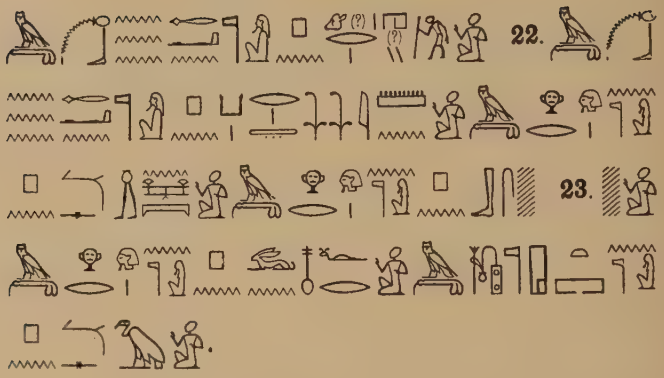
In the presence of Sab, a chief libationer of this god.

In the presence of Peṭā-Åmen-åp, a chief libationer of this god.

In the presence of Nemkhi, a chief

21. libationer of this god.

In the presence of Karmut, a chief libationer of this god.



In the presence of . . . . . rhi, a chief libationer of this god.

22. In the presence of Kartanen-Ȧmen, a chief libationer of this god.

In the presence of Nes-Ȧn-ḥer, a chief officer (?) of this god.

In the presence of Bes . . . ., a chief officer (?) of this god. **23**.

In the presence of Un-Nefer, a chief officer (?) of this god.

In the presence of Nes-Mut, the scribe of the temple of this god.

THE STELE OF EXCOMMUNICATION.

1.

2.

3.

1. The beautiful (or, beneficent) god, Rā, the likeness of Tem, the god who ordained created things from the beginning, who knoweth death (?), whose stride is extended (or, long), the counterpart of Åten, the giver of winds to all nostrils, who maketh beings of intelligence to live, who conquereth by means of his strength, the similitude of him

2. that begot him, whose Majesty acteth as leader every time in his times (or, seasons), the lord of beneficent deeds, the eldest son, his advocate [1] (or, avenger), who made answer

3. [at] the time when he took possession of his throne

[1] I.e., the avenger of his father Osiris.

the King of the South and North, (.....), the son of Rā, (.....), the beloved of Åmen-Rā, the Lord of the Throne of the Two Lands, the Dweller in the Holy Mountain, [to whom] life is given for ever.

4. In the second year [after] his coronation His Majesty was upon the throne of Ḳeb, and His Majesty went into the temple of Father Åmen of Nept, the Dweller in the Holy Mountain, to drive away those

5. people who were hateful [to] the god, who were named "Tem pesiu per ṭet khai," saying, "Let them "not be allowed

"**6**. to enter into the temple of Åmen of Nept, the "Dweller in the Holy Mountain, because of that matter, "to declare which would be an abominable thing,

"[which] they did in the temple of Ámen. They did "a thing

"**7.** which the god did not command to be done.

"They worked an accursed thing in their hearts, "concerning the slaughter of a man who was free from "the abominable thing, which the god had not com- "manded to be done.

"**8.** And the god thrust their words into their own "mouths, because he wished to bring about their de- "struction; he slew them, making [them] . . . . . ."

9. In order to set the fear in all the servants of the god, and all the libationers who shall enter into the presence of this holy god, of the greatness of his Spirits and the might of his power, His Majesty spake, saying:

"If any servant of the god whatsoever, or if any liba-
"tioner whatsoever commit any offence in the temple,

"**10**. [the god shall smite] them; he shall not allow
"their feet to be upon the ground, and he shall not
"allow them to establish heirs after them, so that the
"temple may not be filled with their pollutions, and
"the precincts thereof be free from them."

THE ANNALS OF ḤERU-SA-ÀTEF.

1.

1. The thirteenth day of the second month of the season Pert,[1] of the thirty-fifth year under the Majesty of Horus, the Mighty Bull, the crowned one in Nept; Lord of the shrine of Nekhebit and Lord of the shrine of Uatchit, 2. the Advocate of the gods; the Golden Horus, the conqueror unto whom hath been given the country of all lands; the King of the South and North, (SA-MERI-ÀMEN), the son of Rā, the Lord of the Two Lands, the Lord of Diadem[s], the 3. Lord the creator of the universe, the son of Rā of [his] body, loving him, (ḤERU-SA-ÀTEF), the everliving, beloved of Àmen-Rā, the Lord of the Thrones of the Two Lands, the Dweller

[1] A part of December and a part of January.

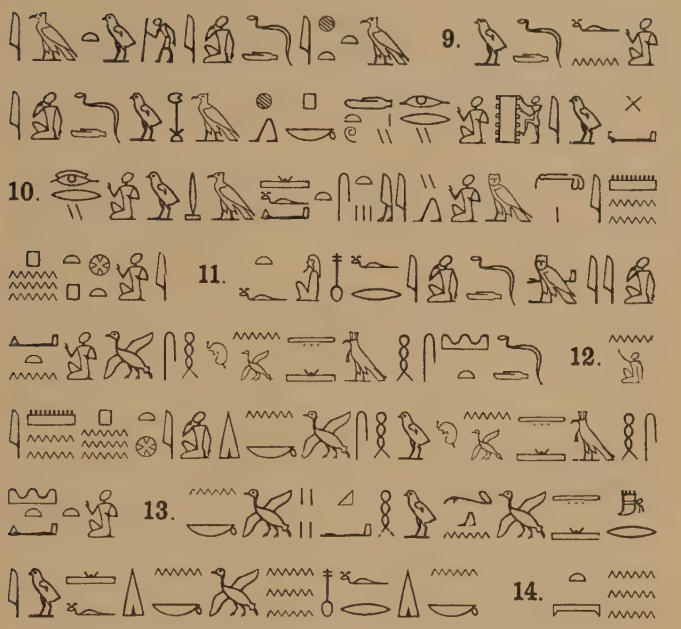
in the Holy [Mountain]. To him we[1] give **4.** life, stability, serenity in everything, health at all [times], joy of heart of all kinds, like Rā for ever.

They gave a vision. Ȧmen **5.** of Nept, my good Father, gave to me the land of Neḥset.[2] In the vision he **6.** performed the binding on of my crown for me. In the vision he looked at me with his two eyes for good (i.e., graciously), **7.** and spake unto me, saying, "Get thee into the god-house of Ȧmen of Nept, into "the Hall **8.** of the North."

I was afraid, and I made enquiries of one of the men,

[1] I.e., the gods who are represented on the upper portion of the stele.

[2] The Land of the Blacks, i.e., the Sûdân.



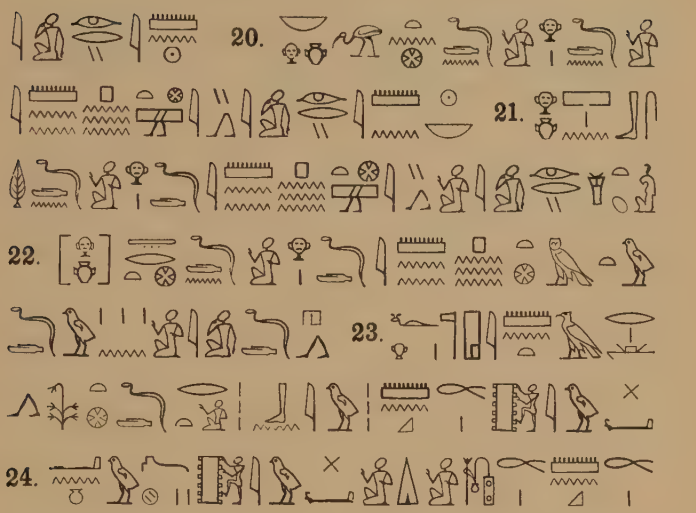
an old man, saying, "What do these things **9.** [mean]?" And he spake unto me, saying, "Let thy two hands be "active. Make a building, **10.** make it strong."

They made me to come into the presence of Åmen of Nept, my **11** good Father, and to say, "I beseech thee "to give unto me the crown of the land of Neḥset." And Åmen of Nept **12.** said unto me, "The crown of "the land of Neḥset hath been given unto thee. I will "give unto **13.** thee the four shoulders (i.e., quarters) "of the whole earth. I will give unto thee the water "[which is] good. I will give unto thee **14.** the sky

"and good rain.[1] I will grant that all thine enemies "shall be under thy **15.** sandals. [The king of] the "foreign country who shall make a coming against "thee shall not have success. [The king of] the "foreign country **16.** who would make an expedition "against thee shall not be able to bring it about. "**17.** His arm and his two legs (or, feet)—I see thereon "the Great Nile."

Åmen, my **18.** good Father, gave me [these things] whilst I was standing in the Åpt (habitation) of Åmen of Nept, within **19.** his sanctuary. Item. After these

[1] I.e., rain in abundance.



things had come to pass I made a journey to Åmen **20**. -Rā, the Lord, the Dweller within [Per]-Ḳem-Åten,[1] and spake [to him] the words which Åmen of Nept had spoken. And I made a journey to Åmen-Rā, the Lord, the Dweller **21**. within Per-Nebes, and I spake [to him] the words which Åmen of Nept had spoken. And I made a journey to the goddess Bast, **22**. [the Dweller] in Tart, and I spake [to her] the words which Åmen of Nept had spoken.

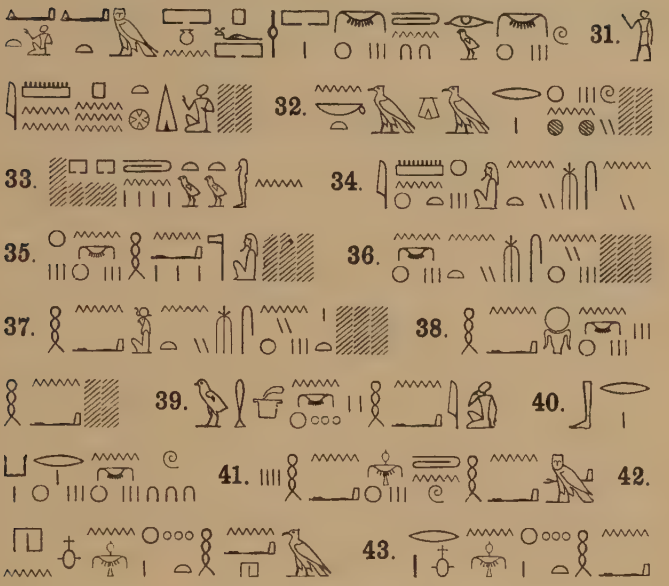
Then they spake unto me, saying, "Let him go "**23**. to the temple of Åmen of Tara . . . . . of "the South." The people said, "They have not [yet] "finished building [there]." **24**. I rebuilt it, and

[1] Perhaps the modern Sadênga.

I caused [it] to be painted and completed in five months.

And I looked **25.** on the Temple of Ȧpt of Ȧmen of Nept, and there was no gold upon it; and I laid **26.** upon the Temple of Ȧpt pinnacles (?) and plating of gold, forty *ṭeben*, which make five thousand one hundred and twenty *peḳu* **27.** of gold.

Then they spake unto me, saying, "The Per-sennut "lacketh gold." **28.** And I caused one to bring the wood of the acacia of Ȧrkaret; I selected [the logs], **29.** and I caused [them] to be brought for me to Nept. I caused to be placed gold upon the two pinnacles (?), gold [of the weight of] **30.** forty *ṭeben*, and I caused to be placed in the treasury of that [building] twenty



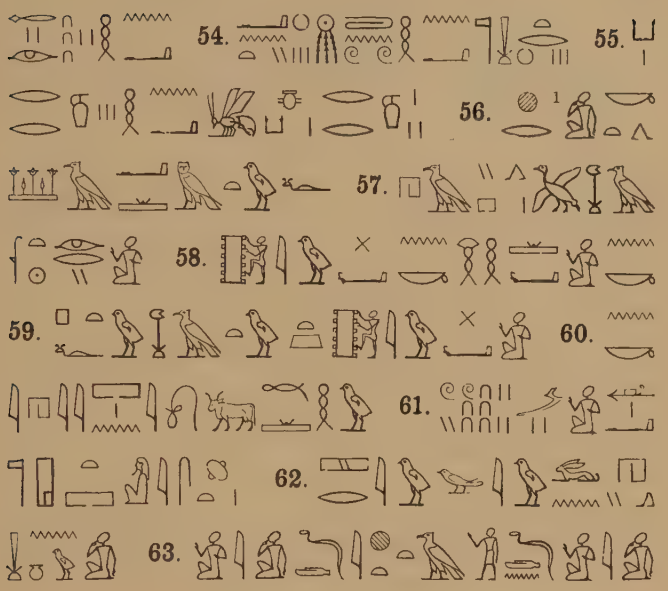
ṭeben of gold, which are equal to one hundred [*peḳu*] of gold.

31. O Åmen of Nept, I gave **32.** unto thee rings for the neck (?) **33.** and . . . . . of four *ṭeben*, an image of **34.** Åmen of the city (?) which were of beaten **35.** gold. And three (?) gods **36.** which were of beaten gold. **37.** And a [figure of] Rā which was of beaten [gold]. **38.** And three rams' heads of gold. And **39.** two pectorals of gold. And **40.** one hundred and thirty-four *abrakaran* (beads ?) of gold. **41.** And one hundred *ṭeben* of silver. And **42.** one silver vessel for milk (?). And one *hara* vessel **43.** of silver. And

44. four [1] *skara* vessels of silver. And one *hara* bowl of silver. **45**. And one *māhen* bowl of silver. And **46**. one rhyton of silver. And **47**. [one] *mennusa*—Total. Nine vessels [of silver].

And **48**. four *kara* vessels of bronze. And one *meḳatmi* vase of bronze. **49**. And two *ḥent* (?)-*ḥer-māu* vessels of bronze. **50**. And two lamp stands (?) of bronze. And **51**. one incense stand of bronze. And fifteen *skara* bowls of bronze. **52**. And five *paṭennu* scoops of bronze. And **53**. two great cauldrons (*pāshi*)—Total. Thirty-two [vessels in bronze].

[1] Read "three."

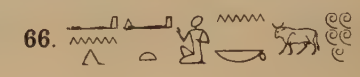


And **54**. two hundred *ṭeben* of myrrh. And three large jars of incense. **55**. And three large jars of honey. **56**. Another matter also: The temple Pa-kha-renput[2] **57**. had begun to fall into ruins; **58**. I [re]built it for thee, and I made for thee the **59**. colonnade thereof. And I built for thee **60**. a byre for the cattle, **61**. one hundred and fifty-four cubits [in length]. And I rebuilt [for thee] the **62**. small incense-chamber (?) of the temple which had fallen into a ruined state. **63**. And I asked, saying, "Wherefore

[1] The stele has ⊗.

[2] I.e., "the house of a thousand years."

64. 65.

66. 

67. 68.

69.

70.

71. 72.

"have I done these things?" And I spake, **64**. saying, "Behold, being the king of Egypt I have built [these "temples] **65**. for thee, and I have given to them "[their] divine offerings and supplies."

Another matter also: **66**. I gave unto thee five hundred oxen. I gave unto thee **67**. two *māhen* vessels of milk every day. **68**. I gave unto thee ten ministrants (?). I gave unto thee **69**. prisoners, fifty men and fifty women, making in all one **70**. hundred persons.

O Åmen of Nept, was there ever a list [kept of the things which I gave] **71**. to thee? I am he who gave unto thee whatsoever was demanded. They gave a command.

72. On the twenty-third day of the third month of

the season Pert,[1] in the second year, **73.** [His Majesty] went forth against a leader of the foe. He smote **74.** Rehrehsa, and Åmen **75.** hacked in pieces the arms which were **76.** extended against me. I fought a great fight with him, **77.** and slew a very large number of his men.

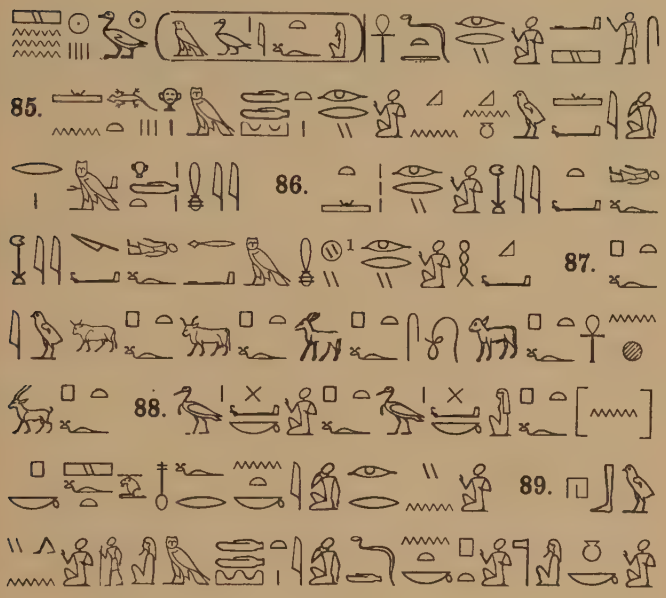
On the fourth day of the second month of the season Pert,[2] in the third year, I waged war **78.** against the [king of] the enemy in the land of Meṭṭet, and I effected his overthrow **79.** with great slaughter. Thou [it was] who didst [this] for me.

[1] Part of January and part of February.
[2] Part of December and part of January.

On the twelfth day of the second month of the season of Shemu,[1] in the fifth year [of the reign of] the son of Rā, **80.** (ḤERU-SA-ÀTEF), Life, Strength, [and] Health [be to him] for ever! I caused my bowmen and my horsemen to march **81.** against the [king of] the enemy of the country of Meṭṭet, and they fought a fight with him [near] the city of Neruart, **82.** and beat him, and overthrew very many of his men. And **83.** they made prisoners of all his people, and overthrew the prince of Àrḳa . . . . . **84.** . . . . .

On the fourth day of the second month of the season of Shemu, in the sixth year [of the reign of] the son

[1] The season of summer. The second month was a part of April and a part of May.



of Rā, (HERU-SA-ĀTEF), the everliving, I made an order **85**. for the hosts [to attack the king of] the country of Meṭṭet. I waged war against [his] towns, and **86**. I overthrew him, and I defeated with great slaughter large numbers of his men. And I captured **87**. his bulls, and his cows, and his asses, and his sheep, and his goats, and his **88**. menservants, and his maid-servants, and his [gold]. It was thou [O Āmen], and thy good power which performed [these things] for me. **89**. The Chief of the land of Meṭṭet sent a messenger

[1] The stele has ⊗.

unto me, saying, "Thou art my god, I am thy **90.** "servant. I am a woman." Afterwards (?) he came to me. **91.** And he caused to be brought to me the *ȧtennu*[1] by the hands of a messenger. I came and I paid [a visit] to thee, O Ȧmen of Nept, my good Father, **92.** and I gave unto thee a large number of cattle.

On the fourth day of the first month[2] of the season of Pert, in the eleventh year [of my reign], **93.** I caused my bowmen to make an expedition against the city of Āqnat,[3] which my servant Ḳasȧu surrounded. **94.** The names of its chiefs (?) were Barḳa and Sa-

[1] The meaning of this word is unknown. The *ȧtennu* was, perhaps, the symbol of sovereignty among the tribe.

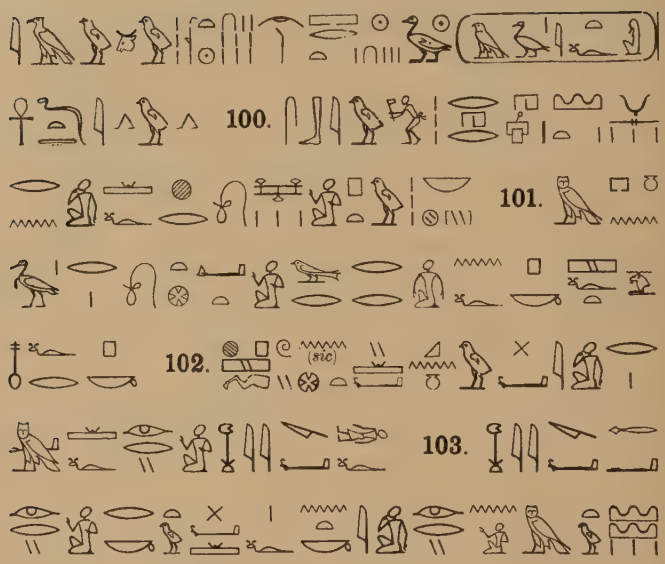
[2] Part of November and part of December.

[3] Perhaps the Ἀκινη of Pliny, as Dr. Schaefer suggests.

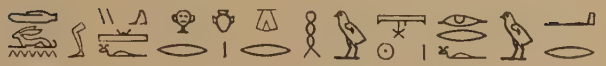
Åmen-sa, who had reached (i.e., fled to) the city of Sunt.[1] **95.** He fought a fierce battle with [the people] thereof, and he slew **96.** Barḳa and Sa-Åmen-sa, their lords. It was thou, [O Åmen,] and thy good power which performed [these things] for me.

On the fifteenth day of the first month of the season Akhet, in the sixteenth year of my reign, **97.** I caused my bowmen and horsemen to make an expedition against [my] enemies in Mekhetḥi (?). **98.** I and my bowmen fought a great fight with them, and overthrew him (i.e., their king) with great slaughter, and carried off as spoil **99.** the finest of their cattle.

[1] The סְוֵנֵה of the Bible, Syene of the Greeks, and Aswân of the Arabs.



On the thirteenth day of the first month of the season Pert, in the eighteenth year of [the reign of] the son of Rā, (HERU-SA-ĀTEF), the everliving, there came [against me] **100.** [my] enemies [from] the country of Rehrehsat. The name of their Chief was Kheruat (?); he was their lord, **101.** [and he dwelt] in the city of Baruat (Meroë). It was thy good power, **102.** and thy two arms which are mighty, which made him to be helpless [before] me. I fought a battle against him, and I overthrew him, **103.** and I made a great slaughter [among his men], and I crushed him utterly. It was thou, O Āmen, who performedst [these things] for

104. 

105.

106.

107.

108.

me. [The Chief of those] lands **104.** rose up in the middle of the night and effected his flight.

On the twenty-ninth day of the third month[1] of the season **105.** Shemu, in the twenty-third year of [the reign of] the son of Rā, (HERU-SA-ĀTEF), the ever-living, Ārua, the Chief of the hill districts of the country of Rehrehsa, **106.** came [against me], together with all his people from the city of Baruat (Meroë). I fought a fierce fight **107.** against him, I overthrew him and made a great slaughter [among his men], and I defeated him utterly, **108.** and I put him to flight. And I caused the overthrow of Shaikara, who came

[1] Part of May and part of June.

[against me], having made **109.** a treaty of friendship with him. It was thy good power, [O Åmen,] and thy two mighty arms [which did this for me]. The Chief **110.** . . . . . my bowmen and my horses in safety.

111. On the fifth day of the first month of the season Pert, in the thirty-fifth year of [the reign of] the son of Rā, (HERU-SA-ÅṬEF), the everliving, I made a messenger to go to Åmen of Nept, **112.** my good Father, saying, "Let me, I pray thee, cause my bow-"men to make an expedition **113.** against the districts "of Mekhetḥi(?)." And Åmen of Nept made a messenger to come to me, saying, **114.** "Let him

"cause an expedition to go against them." And I caused to go against them an expedition which consisted of the **115.** fifty men of my bodyguard, and the horsemen of the four countries of Mekhetḥi who **116.** . . . . . They overthrew him. None were alive among those who remained. None were there among them who found **117.** a way to escape. None were there of them who were able to flee on their feet. None were there left **118.** to be chiefs over them. None were there left of them [to shoot with] the bow. And they captured everything which they had.

119. In a vision one spake unto me, **120.** saying,

121. "The temple is falling down; third month of the "season Pert, the day of Ptaḥ." I [re]built [it] for thee. **122.** I built the temple "Gold of **123.** Life," of the body [thereof] six chambers, of the body [thereof] **124.** four pillars.

And on another occasion in a vision **125.** one spake unto me, **126.** saying, "The House of the King is "falling down, and there is none **127.** who [dare] "enter therein." **128.** I [re]built the House of the King, the Houses (?) **129.** of Nept, and sixty houses. And I caused them **130.** to be surrounded with walls. Moreover, **131.** I built (or, made) a garden; **132.** a

133.

134.

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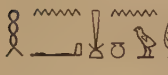
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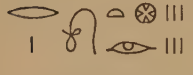
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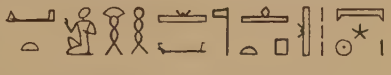
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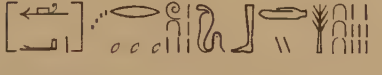
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side was fifty cubits [in length], **133.** and the four sides together made two hundred cubits. **134.** Moreover, I caused to be planted for thee, [O Åmen,] **135.** six date-palm groves, with a vine **136.** in each of them, making six below Nept. **137.** And I gave unto thee the twice-beautiful date-palm groves **138.** which are below Baruat, making six. **139.** And I caused offerings to be established: [for] a night [and] **140.** a day one hundred and fifteen measures of *dhura*, and thirty-eight measures of barley, **141.** making in all one hundred and fifty-three measures of *dhura* and barley. **142.**

They gave the word: there was no **143.** town

wherein I **144**. did not carry out works of restoration (?), unless there **145**. were no people in it.

146. They gave the word: I made festivals wherein Osiris of the city of **147**. . . . . tit appeared. I made a festival wherein Osiris **148**. of Baruat (Meroë) appeared. I made a festival wherein **149**. Osiris and Isis of the city of Mertet appeared. **150**. I made four festivals wherein appeared Osiris and Isis **151**. of the city of Ḳarrt. I made a festival wherein appeared **152**. Osiris, Isis, and Horus of the city of Sehrasat. **153**. I made a festival wherein appeared Osiris and Ȧmen- **154**. Ȧbṭi of the city of Sa . . . lḳat.

155. 156.

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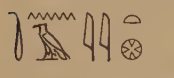 158.

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155. I made a festival wherein appeared Horus of the city of Karatet. I made **156.** a festival wherein appeared Rā of the city of Meshat (or, Meḥat). I made a festival **157.** wherein appeared Ȧnḥer of the city of Ȧrtenait. **158.** I made a festival wherein appeared Osiris of the city of Nept. **159.** I made two festivals wherein appeared Osiris of the city of Nehanat. **160.** I made a festival wherein appeared Osiris and Isis of the city of Per-Ḳemt. **161.** I made three festivals wherein appeared Osiris of Per-Nebes—for ever.

THE ANNALS OF THE NUBIAN KING NÀSTASEN.

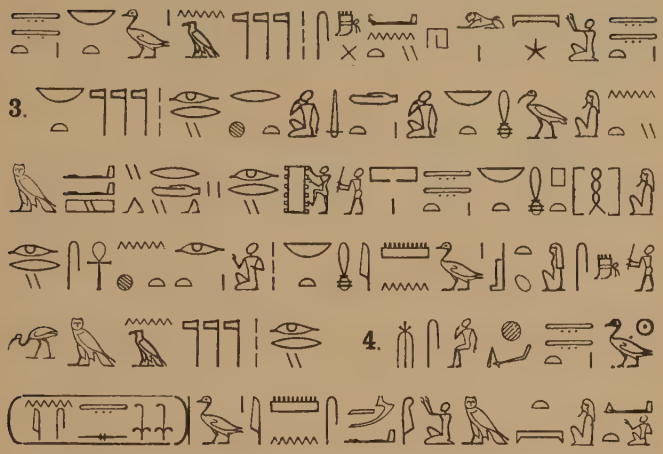
1.

2.

1. The ninth day of the first month of the season Pert,[1] in the eighth year under the Horus, the Mighty Bull, the beloved one of the Company of the gods, who hath risen like the sun in Nepita, Lord of the shrine of Nekhebit, Lord of the shrine of Uatchit, the son of Rā, (Nàstasen), the Horus, the Bull who trampleth his foes under his sandals (or, feet),

2. the great and devouring Lion, who stablisheth all the Two Lands, the son of Àmen, whose arms are mighty, who maketh broad every part of the Two

[1] This season began about the middle of December.



Lands, the Son of the Company of the gods, the most mighty one who is acclaimed (?) by all the Two Lands

3. and by the Company of the gods, who understandeth all words like the god Thoth, who marcheth with long steps, who buildeth the house of all the Two Lands like the god Pet (Ptaḥ ?), who provideth the means of living for every man (or, maketh every eye to live) like the god Åmen, the son of Isis, the most mighty one, [whom] the Company of the gods created [and] made

4. to be born, the protector of the Two Lands, the son of Rā, (Nâstasen), the son of Åmen, who hath been proclaimed blessed in heaven.

I would have you to know that the King of the

South and North, (Ānkh-ka-Rā), the son of Rā, the Lord of the Two Lands, (Nâstasen), who liveth for ever, speaketh [saying],

"I was a good boy (or, young man) living in the city "of Beruat (Meroë),

"5. and Âmen of Nepita, my good Father, cried unto "me, saying, 'Come.'

"Then I cried unto the members of the royal family "who were in the city of Beruat, all [of them], and I "spake unto them, saying, 'Come ye, and

"6. go with us (i.e., with me), and let us seek out "one who shall direct our affairs'; and they spake,

"saying, 'We will not go with thee. Thou art his good "child, and Åmen of Nepita,

"**7.** thy good Father, loveth thee.'

"And at daybreak on the following day I set out on "my journey, and I arrived at the city of Åsṭ-er-sat, "where I slept, [for there was my] home (?). And he "(i.e., Åmen) [caused] me to hear certain *ămari* men "from Nepita say,

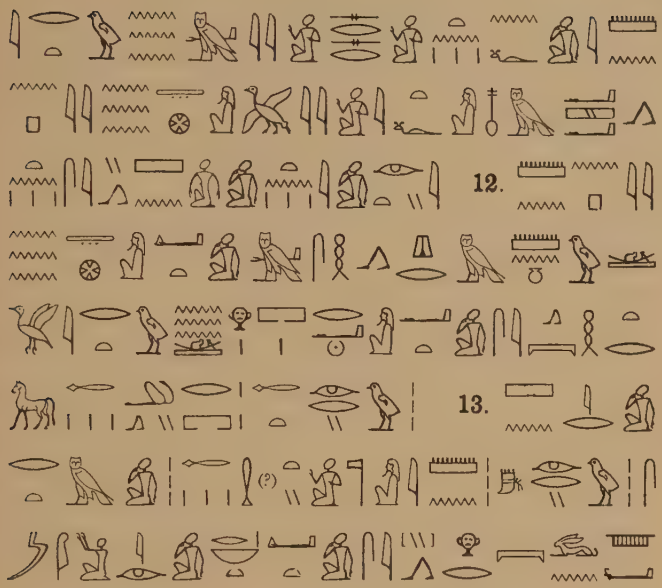
"**8.** 'He is in the city (?) of all lands.' I set out "on the morning of the second day, and I arrived "at the city of Taḥeḥet (?), which is Pa-maau-āat "(i.e., the Great Lion house), the garden where King

"(P-ānkh-Åluru) grew up. And whilst my left hand
"was

"**9**. on the place of . . . . . the temple of Åmen,
"there came forth unto me all the men of the Temple
"of Åmen of Nepita, and the inhabitants of the cities.
"Now they were all great men, and they spake unto me,

"**10**. saying, 'Åmen of Nepita, thy good Father,
"hath committed unto thee the sovereignty of the
"Land.' And all the people said, 'When will he tie
"up his boat (i.e., land)?'

"**11**. Then I spake unto them, saying, 'Get you



"gone down the river, and I entreat you to intercede
"with my good Father, Åmen of Nepita, on my behalf;
"march, get you gone, and prostrate ye yourselves

"12. before Åmen of Nepita.'

"Then I set out and went down to the landing-place
"on the river, and crossed over to the House of Rā;
"and I mounted a great horse and I arrived at the
"Great House. And

"13. all the great men, and the servants of the god
"Åmen, prostrated themselves before me, and every
"mouth declared my praises. And I went up, and I
"opened the great doors, and my good soldier-chiefs

"performed upon me all the ceremonies which it was "their duty to perform;

"**14**. [and they brought me] into the Golden House "of the Åpts. And I told Åmen of Nepita, my good "Father, everything which was in my heart (literally, "belly), and

"**15**. Åmen of Nepita hearkened unto [the words of] "my mouth. And Åmen of Nepita, my good Father, "gave unto me the sovereignty of the Land of Sti, and "the crown of King (Ḥeru-sa-âtef),

"**16**. and the strength of King (P-ānkhi-Åluru).

"On the last day of the third month of the season "Akhet, I made Ámen of Nepita, my good Father, to "rise (like the sun). He came forth from the Great "House, and he gave unto me the sovereignty of the "Land of Sti, and of the city of Alut[1]; [and he made "me]

"**17.** the Chief of the Nine Tribes who fight with the "bow, and the countries on both banks of the river, "and the Four Corners of the Earth. [Then] I spake "my good words unto Rā, and unto Ámen of Nepita I "spake, saying, 'Thou art he who

"**18.** hath wrought this thing for me, and all lands "and all people have heard concerning it. Thou didst

[1] The Alwa of the Arabs, and Aloa of modern travellers.

"call me from the city of Baruat (Meroë), and I have
"come, and thou hast committed to me the sovereignty
"of the Land of Sti.

"**19**. It was not men who made me to be king on
"that twenty-fourth day when thou didst give unto
"me the sovereignty [of the Land of Sti].'

"And all the men of might and substance, and all
"the men who possessed nothing, were on the road.
"And I danced with joy

"**20**. before Rā, and I came to the place where
"sacrifices were offered up, and I took two oxen [and
"slew them], and then I went up and seated myself
"upon the Golden Throne, in the Golden House of the

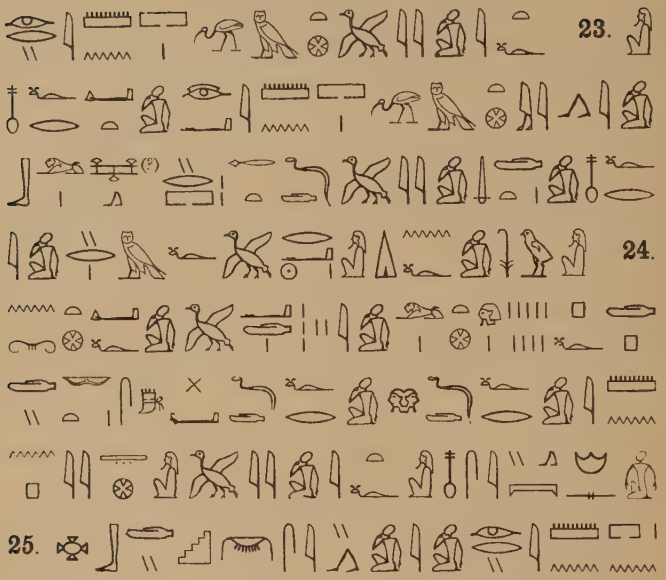
"Åpts, in the shade, on this day. And all the people "spake, saying,

"**21**. 'He shall make every matter to prosper,[1] for "Åmen of Nepita hath given unto him the sovereignty "of the Land of Sti (Life, Strength, and Health [be to "him!]). The son of Rā, (Nåstasen), hath gone up "and seated himself upon the Golden Throne, in the "shade,

"**22**. on this day. He shall reign as king, and shall "sit (i.e., dwell) with us in Beruat (Meroë).'

"On the twelfth day of the first month of the season "Akhet, I set out and sailed down the river to Åmen "of Per-Ḳemt, my

[1] I.e., he shall do all things well.



"**23.** good Father. I caused Åmen of Per-Ḳemt to "rise (like the sun), and he came forth from the Great "House, and I spake fair words with him [and with] "Rā. And he gave unto me the sovereignty of

"**24.** Sti, and he gave unto me the countries on each "bank of the river, and of Ålut, [and made me] Chief "of the Nine Tribes who fight with the bow, and his "own mighty bow. And he spake unto me the same "words which Åmen of Nepita, my good Father, had "spoken unto me, and I went up and seated myself

"**25.** upon the Golden Throne.

"Then I went to Åmen of the city of Per-Nebset,

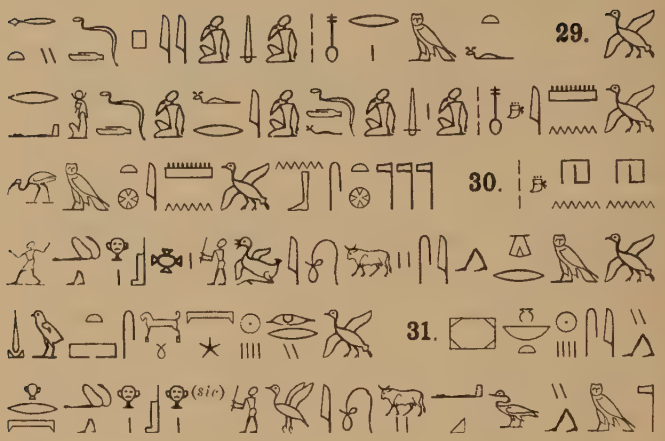
"my good Father. And Åmen of the city of Per-
"Nebset rose (like the sun), and he came forth from
"the Great House, and he gave unto me the sovereignty
"of the Land of Sti, and his own

"**26.** strong leather-bound club (?), and I spake the
"fair words which I had to say unto Rā, and I went
"up and seated myself upon the Golden Throne.

"Then I came up [the river] to Åmen of Nepita, my
"good Father.

"**27.** And on the nineteenth day of the second month
"of the season of Pert, [I caused]

"**28.** Åmen of Nepita to rise (like the sun), and he
"came forth from the Great House. And I spake fair
"words



"**29**. to Rā, and I told him all the words of auspicious "character which Ȧmen of the city of Per-Ḳem, and "Ȧmen of the city of Per-Nebes, and all the Company "of the gods, had said unto me.

"**30**. And I danced with joy, and I arrived at the "place where sacrifices were offered up, and I took two "oxen (or, bulls) [and slew them]. Then I went down "into the Tchaut Chamber, and I lay down therein for "four nights, and [during] the four days [thereof I "performed]

"**31**. every ceremony (?) [which had to be performed].

"Then I went up out of the Chamber, and I reached "the place where sacrifices were offered up, and I took "two oxen (or, bulls) [and slew them], and I entered "into the House of the God, and I seated myself upon "the throne which is in

"**32.** the House of the Golden Garden (?).

"On the twenty-fourth day of the month I went up "to the goddess Bast, who dwelleth in Tert, my good "Mother, and she granted to me life, and [promised "me] old age and happiness, and gave me

"**33.** her left breast, and she placed me in her living "and beautiful bosom, and gave unto me her strong "club (or, staff). Then I came [back] to Nepita.

"And on the twenty-ninth day I caused to rise (like "the sun)

"**34.** Åmen of Nepita, and he gave unto me all the "heavens, and all the earth, and all the rivers, and all "the peoples; and I went up and seated myself upon "the Golden Throne.

"And I dedicated unto thee four gardens,

"**35**. O Åmen of Nepita, in the city of Nepita, "whereto were attached thirty-six men. And I gave "unto thee three large copper *kalulu* vessels full of "incense, and four large *kalulu* vessels full of honey, "and three large lumps (?) of *ānti* (i.e., myrrh),

"**36**. and one gold figure of Åmen of the city of "Pa-Ḳem-Åten, and two figures of Horus, [weighing in "all] three *ṭeben*; three silver-gold *mesṭi* vessels, three "silver-gold *katcha* vessels, and seven silver-gold *åpet* "vessels, making in all thirteen vessels, and [weighing] "one hundred and thirty-four *ṭeben*; and two large "copper *kalulu* vessels,

37.

38.

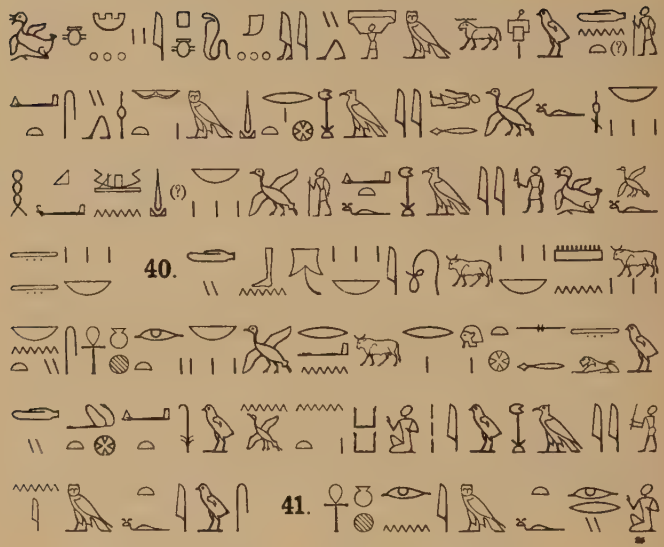
39.

"**37**. thirteen copper *khait* skimming-pans for milk, "two copper *ḥent* vessels for beer, six copper *har* "vessels, twelve copper *kas* vessels, and six copper "*meṣti* vessels.

"And on the last day of the first month of the season "Shemu, I dedicated unto thee, O Åmen in the Åpt,

"**38**. two young oxen (or, bulls), and two full-grown "oxen (or, bulls), in all four oxen (or, bulls), and two "heifers, and two full-grown cows, in all four cows; "one young ox (?), and one full-grown ox (?), in all two "oxen; one *benu* [to be used for drinking from by the "men on . . . . . days] of the year; sixteen *khirurteba* "vessels of copper, two *tekh* vessels of copper, ten *reb* "vessels of copper,

"**39**. two *bātcha* vessels of copper, and two *åpet* "vessels of copper.



"The Chief Kambasuṭen (Cambyses?) came, and I "made my bowmen to advance against him from the "city of Tchart. [There was] a great defeat (or, "slaughter); [I captured] all his weapons (?), and I "made myself master of all the boats of his captains, "and I routed and overthrew him. I seized all his "lands,

"**40**. and all the cattle, and all the oxen (or, bulls), "and all the sheep and goats, and everything whereon "men live, from the city of Karu-tept (?) to the city of "Taruṭi-peḥt. Such [cattle] as were wounded I left "for the . . . . . to eat, and

"**41**. those that were fit for men to eat I kept alive.

". . . . . I gave to the city of Tarumen twelve sacred
"oxen (or, bulls) of those which had been given to
"Åmen of Nepita, and these I had brought down from
"Nepita.

"On the twenty-sixth day of the fourth month of the
"**42.** season Akhet, on the birthday of the son of
"Rā, (Nàstasen), I gave to the city of Saksakṭit six
". . . . . oxen (or, bulls) of the property of Åmen of
"Nepita, my good Father, and they came down the
"river from

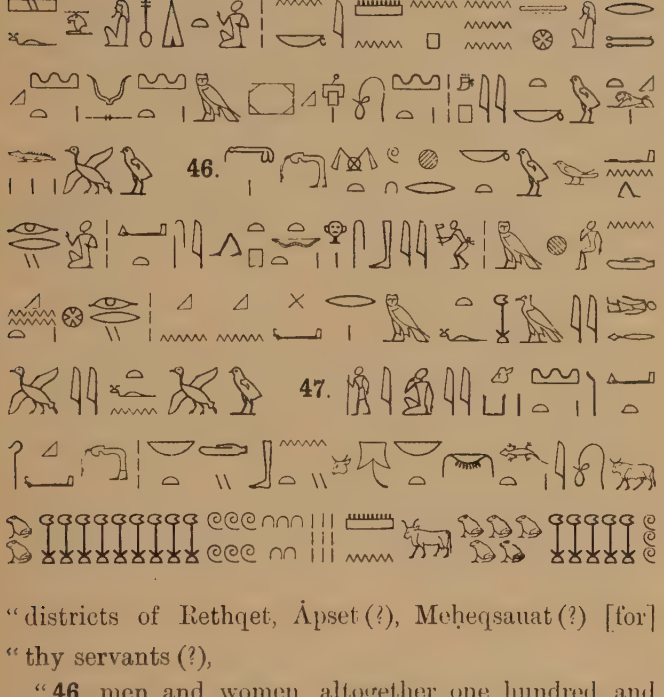
"**43.** Nepita.

"On the last day of the fourth month of the season
"Akhet, which is the day whereon the crown was

"given to the son of Rā, (Nästasen), I dedicated to "thee, O Åmen of Nepita, twelve breast-plates (or, "pectorals), and the crops (?) and green herbs (?) from "the city of Karu-

"**44.** tept to the city of Taru-reqet. I dedicated to "thee, O Åmen of Nepita, my good Father, a lamp in "Taqtatet, and of the spoil which I captured I brought "to thee three hundred oxen (or, bulls), and three "hundred cows, calves, sheep, and oxen, and two "hundred men. O Åmen of Nepita,

"**45.** thy two arms and thine excellent overwhelm-"ing might have brought these things to pass. I gave "to thee, O Åmen of Nepita, all [the people] of the

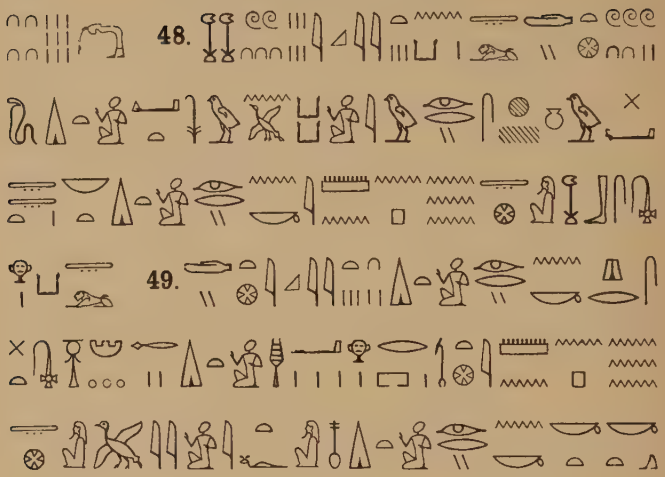


"districts of Rethqet, Ȧpset (?), Meḥeqsauat (?) [for]
"thy servants (?),

"**46**. men and women, altogether one hundred and
"ten.

"Further, I caused my bowmen (i.e., soldiers) to set
"out on an expedition against the rebels of Mekhḥenṭ-
"qennet, and I fought against them, and I inflicted
"great slaughter upon them, and I took prisoner their

"**47**. Chief Aikhentkat. And I captured all the
"women, all the cattle, a large quantity of gold, two
"hundred and nine thousand six hundred and fifty-
"nine oxen (or, bulls), five hundred and five thousand



"three hundred and forty-nine cows, calves, sheep, and "goats,

"**48**. two thousand two hundred and thirty-six "women, and three hundred and twenty-two *âqit* "(statues ?) of the city of Katarṭit. I left for the ". . . . . to eat whatsoever the land on both sides of "the river produced for food.

"I dedicated unto thee, O Âmen of Nepita, a lamp "in the city of

"**49**. Katarṭit, and twelve *âqit* (statues ?). I dedi- "cated unto thee two massive copper lamp standards, "and I set them up in the city of Uast. O Âmen "of Nepita, my good Father, I dedicated unto thee "six breast-plates (or, pectorals) in the city of "Katarṭit,

"**50**. and I opened the doors of the Temple of the "Bull of Gold, which is the image of Åmen of Nepita, "my good Father.

"Further, I caused my bowmen to set out on an "expedition against the rebel land of Rebarut, and the "rebel land of

"**51**. Åkarkar-khent(?), and I defeated [the men "thereof] with great slaughter. I took prisoner their "Chief Rubkhentṭent, and [I captured] all his gold, "the quantity whereof was so great that it could not "be told, and two hundred and three thousand two "hundred and sixteen oxen (or, bulls), and six hundred "and three thousand one hundred and seven cows, "calves, sheep, and goats, and all the women and "everything

"**52.** which men could eat for food. I gave the "Chief to Åmen of Nepita, my good Father. [O Åmen "of Nepita,] thy thigh (or, arm) is mighty, and thy "wisdom is good.

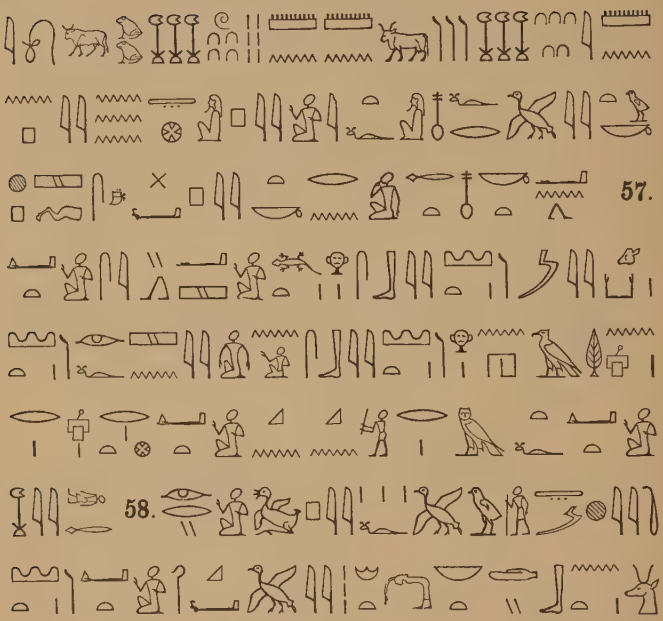
"Further, I caused many threatenings to go forth

"**53.** against the rebel land of Årersat, and I defeated "[the people thereof] with great slaughter. I took "prisoner Åbskhent (?), the Chief of the country of "Mashat, and I captured all the women, and all the "cattle, and one thousand two hundred and twelve "*ṭeben* of gold, and twenty-two thousand one hundred "and twenty

"**54.** oxen (or, bulls), and all the women, and fifty-
"five thousand two hundred cows, calves, sheep, and
"goats, and I gave the Chief and all his property to
"Åmen of Nepita, my good Father. [O Åmen of
"Nepita,] thy name is great and good, and thine over-
"whelming might is good.

"**55.** Moreover, I made my bowmen to set out on an
"expedition against the rebel land of Mekhsherkhertet,
"and I defeated the people thereof with great slaughter.
"I took the Chief thereof prisoner, and seized every-
"thing which man could use for food, and all the
"women. And I took for myself

"**56.** two hundred and three thousand one hundred



"and forty-six oxen (or, bulls), and thirty-three thou-
"sand and fifty cows, calves, goats, and sheep. O Åmen
"of Nepita, my good Father, thine arm is strong, and
"thy name is great and beautiful.

"**57**. Moreover, I made very many threatenings to
"go forth against the rebel country of Maikhentkat (?),
"and the rebels attacked me at the Sycamore-tree of
"Sarsart. I did battle with them there, and I defeated
"them with great slaughter.

"**58**. I took prisoner their Chief Tamakhitet, and I
"captured all his women, and all his cattle, and two

"thousand *ṭeben* of gold, and thirty-five thousand three "hundred and thirty oxen and bulls, and fifty-five "thousand five hundred and twenty-six cows, calves, "goats, and sheep,

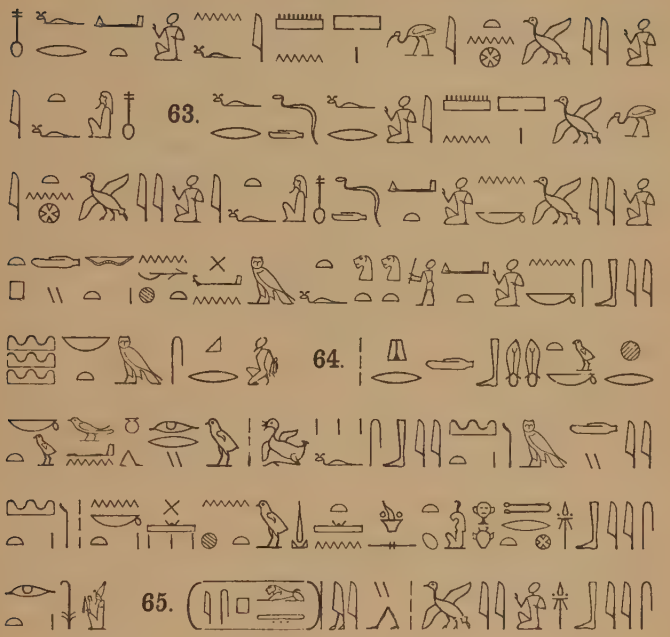
"**59**. and everything which man could use for food. "Åmeu of Nepita, my good Father, hath given unto "me all lands: his arm is mighty, his power is "good,

"**60**. his name is great and beautiful, like the "heavens. Åmen of Nepita, my good Father, hath "done these things for me.

"Moreover, certain things which had been dedicated "as votive offerings to the temple of Per-Ḳem-Åten

"**61**. by King (Life, Strength, and Health be to him!) "(Åspelta) were carried off (i.e., stolen). Thereupon "many urgent appeals went forth to my fine soldiers "[for the restoration of the property] which had been "dedicated by King (Life, Strength, and Health be to "him!) (Åspelta), and for the punishment of the "enemy, who belonged to the Meṭi country, but the "property could not be recovered.

"**62**. Then they took some of my own treasure to "replace [that which was stolen]. It was Åmen of "Nepita, my good Father, who gave it to me, and I "gave it [back] to Åmen of the city of Per-Ḳem-Åten, "my good Father.

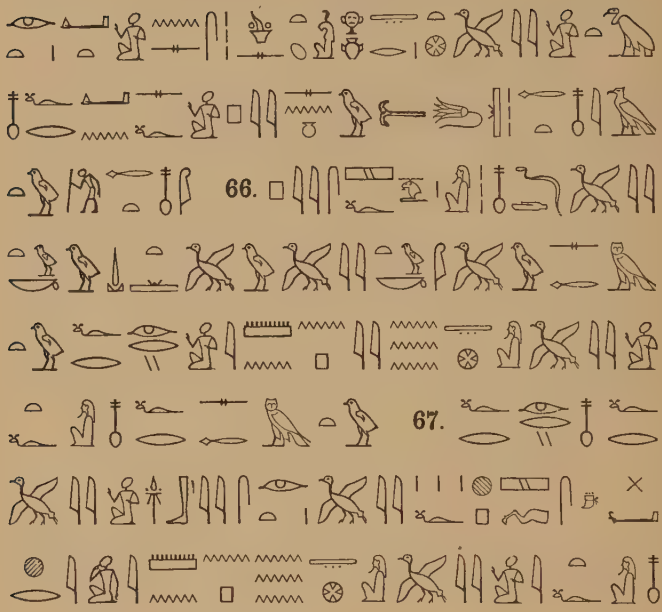


"**63.** Then Åmen of Per-Ḳem-Åten, my good Father, "said unto me, 'I give unto thee my bow, wherein are "strength and might, and I will make all thine enemies "to be prisoners

"**64.** beneath thy sandals.'

"And moreover, the enemies who were in the Meṭit "country stole some of the treasure which belonged to "the goddess Bast, of the city of Thert, which had "been dedicated as an offering to her by King

"**65.** (Åspelta). Then there came some of my own



"treasure which I dedicated to the goddess Bast, who "dwelleth in the city of Tart, my good Mother. And "she gave unto me a great and beautiful flower-shaped "sceptre, and a good long life which was to reach an "advanced old age,

"**66**. and her might, and she said unto me, 'This "shall be thy protection, and [the symbol of] thy "renewing of power.' Ȧmen of Nepita, my good "Father, hath performed [this] for me,

"**67**. he hath made my wealth good (i.e., abundant), "his arm is strong. Verily, O Ȧmen of Nepita, my

"good Father, the things which thou utterest with thy "mouth

"**68**. cannot come to nought; and verily, when thou "closest thy mouth no man hath the wherewithal to "feed himself beneath the heavens."

APPENDIX

I.

DECREE OF USERTSEN III. AGAINST THE BLACKS, SET UP AT SEMNAH IN THE EIGHTH YEAR OF HIS REIGN.

1.

2.

1. The southern frontier in the eighth year under the Majesty of the King of the South and North, (Khā-kau-Rā), giver of life, for ever.

2. No Black whatsoever shall be permitted to pass [this place] going down-stream,

3.

4.

5.

6.

3. whether travelling by desert, or journeying in a boat, with cattle, asses, and goats of various kinds belonging to

4. Blacks, with the exception of such as come to do business in the country of Âqen,

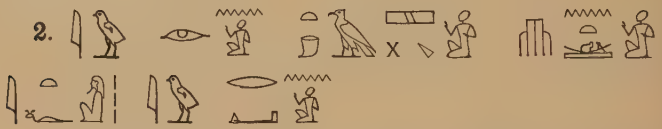
5. or on an embassy. Such, however, shall be well treated in every way whatsoever.

6. No boats belonging to the Blacks shall in future be permitted to pass down the river by the country of Ḥeḥ.

II.

Inscription of Usertsen III., describing his conquest of the Blacks and their Character.

1.

2. 

3.

4.

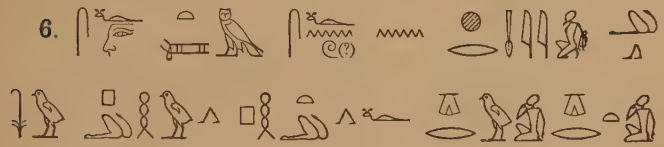
1. In the third month of the season Pert, in the sixteenth year, His Majesty fixed the Southern boundary at Ḥeḥ.

2. I made my boundary, I advanced [farther than] my fathers. I have made

3. additions to that which was committed to me. I am the king (*suten*); what is said [by me] is done [by me]. What is conceived in

4. my heart is brought to pass by my hand. [I am like] a crocodile to seize, and strong to

5.

6. 

7.

8.

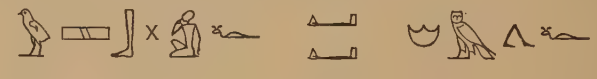
5. hold (?). A matter doth not remain still in my heart. The fool flattereth the chiefs, standing [in expectation of]

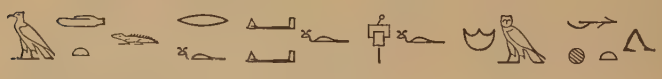
6. mercy; the compassion (?) of his enemies reacheth him not. He (the king) attacketh him that attacketh him, and is silent to him that is silent,

7. and answereth concerning a matter according to what hath happened. Because silence after an attack maketh strong

8. the heart of the enemy, prompt must be the attack, and vile is the man who refraineth from making it. In very truth a sexless coward is he

9.

10. 

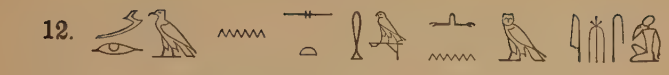


11.

9. who submitteth to conquest on his own territory. Because the Black listeneth to what falleth from the mouth, behold,

10. he is answered when one maketh him to retreat. If any man attack him, he turneth his back to him in flight, and if any man retreat before him he will make an attack.

11. [The Blacks] are not men of boldness, they are timid (or, weak), and have buttocks for hearts.

12. 

13.

14.

15.

16.

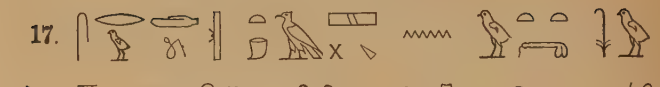
12. My Majesty hath seen them, and I exaggerate not. I made captives of their women, I carried off

13. their peasant labourers, I came to their wells, I slew their bulls, I destroyed their grain,

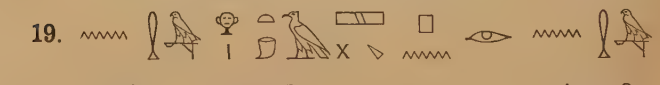
14. casting fire into it. I swear an oath by my father's life that I speak in truth, and that it is not

15. falsehood which cometh forth from my mouth. Furthermore, every son of mine who maketh permanent this boundary

16. which My Majesty hath made is indeed my son,

17. 

18.

19. 

and hath been born to My Majesty, and is the image of the son who avenged his father (i.e., Horus),

17. and made permanent the boundary of him that begot him. Furthermore, he who shall cause it to be set back, and shall not fight

18. for it, behold, he is not my son, and behold, he hath not been born to me. Behold, moreover, My Majesty hath caused a statue of

19. My Majesty to be made on this boundary which My Majesty made, not with the desire that ye yourselves shall flourish because of it, but with the desire that ye should fight for it.